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Held at Headquarters, New York,
on Monday, 24 August 1992, at 3 p.m.

President: Mr. SHIHABI (Saudi Arabia)

later: Mr. ROGERS (Belize)
(Vice-President)

- The situation in Bosnia and Herzegovina: draft resolution [150] [continued]

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The meeting was called to order at 3.10 p.m.

AGENDA ITEM 150 (continued)

THE SITUATION IN BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA: DRAFT RESOLUTION (A/46/L.76)

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Arabic): Before calling on the first speaker, I should like to remind representatives that, in accordance with the decision taken this morning, the list of speakers in the debate will be closed this afternoon at 4.00 p.m. I therefore request those representatives wishing to participate in the debate to inscribe their names as soon as possible.

Mr. OSVALD (Sweden): In the view of the Government of Sweden, the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, a new entity made up of only two former Yugoslavian Republics, is not to be automatically regarded as the successor State of the Federal Socialist Republic of Yugoslavia. The issue should be solved through the appropriate admission procedures of international institutions.

It is with sincere anguish and sorrow that I address the General Assembly today. Peoples that until recently lived side by side in what used to be Yugoslavia are now fighting each other in an incomprehensible quest for ethnic hegemony. Ancient cities are being bombarded, the number of refugees can be counted in the hundreds of thousands and human rights are being violated on a massive scale.

The country of Bosnia and Herzegovina has become the focal point of this tragedy. Its people is subjected to great suffering and its sovereignty and territorial integrity are being violated.

Sweden condemns the aggression against Bosnia and Herzegovina.

We strongly deplore the actions of "ethnic cleansing" directed against the Muslim population in Bosnia and Herzegovina and against other ethnic

(Mr. Osvald, Sweden)

groups in the former Yugoslavia. The continuing reports of widespread violations of humanitarian law in detention camps in the territory of the former Yugoslavia fill us with horror and disgust. The International Committee of the Red Cross, the missions of the Human Rights Commission and of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe and other international organizations must be given continued access to all those camps, as required by resolution 771 (1992).

The first moral obligation of the parties involved is certainly to stop the violence and make sincere efforts towards peace.

Cooperation between the United Nations, which has the primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security, the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe and the European Community must be further strengthened to this end.

Sweden urges all parties concerned to take advantage of the various international efforts to promote a peace process and create a framework for a settlement. Concrete steps must be taken to achieve due respect for internationally recognized borders and to establish arrangements protecting minorities and guaranteeing the legitimate rights of all ethnic groups.

The situation in Bosnia and Herzegovina makes it equally incumbent upon the international community to take vigorous action to promote peace and alleviate human suffering. The crucial work carried out by the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees to deal with the refugee problems, as well as the actions taken by the Human Rights Commission, must be integrated into the overall effort.

Sweden welcomes the fact that the Security Council has taken action in relation to the war in Bosnia and Herzegovina. In accordance with resolution

(Mr. Osvald, Sweden)

757 (1992), imposing sanctions on Serbia and Montenegro, Sweden has taken all appropriate measures.

Sweden fully supports Security Council resolution 770 (1992), which demands that all measures necessary be taken to facilitate the delivery of humanitarian assistance to Sarajevo and wherever needed in other parts of Bosnia and Herzegovina. The message of the resolution is clear. The parties involved in the war in Bosnia and Herzegovina must realize that the international community is determined to make sure that humanitarian assistance reaches those in need. The parties must refrain from such acts of violence as would provoke enforcement actions according to the decision by the Security Council.

Resolution 770 (1992) calls for coordination between the United Nations and those States or regional organizations that participate in the implementation of the resolution. To Sweden, this is of crucial importance to ensure the most efficient delivery of humanitarian assistance. Furthermore, coordination is needed to guarantee the safety of the United Nations Protection Force personnel deployed in Bosnia and Herzegovina in the event of enforcement action.

The draft resolution before us is an eloquent expression of the international community's deep concern regarding the situation in Bosnia and Herzegovina. It is Sweden's hope that it will be adopted by consensus.

Mr. WATSON (United States of America): My Government welcomes this meeting of the United Nations General Assembly, convened at the request of the member States of the Organization of the Islamic Conference to discuss the deteriorating situation in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Along with the rest of the world we are appalled at the continued violence in the former Yugoslavia and in particular in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

(Mr. Watson, United States)

Some argue that the situation in Bosnia and Herzegovina is very complex and that therefore it is very difficult to judge the right and the wrong of what is happening there. My Government firmly believes, however, that we must not let such arguments cloud our vision or diminish our resolve to act. Clearly, the detention and abuse of innocent civilians is wrong.

(Mr. Watson, United States)

Clearly, "ethnic cleansing," with its corollary of forced expulsions and theft on the widest scale imaginable, is wrong. Clearly, attempts to deny humanitarian relief to the needy are wrong. And, most clearly of all, the international community must act in the name of humanity and in concert to correct these wrongs.

The Security Council has recently adopted two resolutions that will do much to alleviate the suffering of the people of Bosnia and Herzegovina. In keeping with the spirit of these resolutions, we call on all parties to the conflict to cooperate with the responsible relief agencies to ensure that humanitarian assistance reaches the needy. Resolution 770 (1992) reminds all involved in this conflict that the international community will no longer tolerate the interruption of the delivery of humanitarian relief.

Resolution 771 (1992) makes it clear that the international community demands the truth regarding the detention centres throughout the former Yugoslavia. My Government will do all in its power to acquire as much information as possible regarding those facilities and will expeditiously forward that information to the Security Council. We urge all other Governments to do the same. We also look forward to the findings of the Special Rapporteur appointed by the United Nations Human Rights Commission. Once this information is gathered, the world will then decide what further action may be required.

We strongly urge all parties to work together to find a negotiated settlement to this crisis, and we fully endorse the efforts of the European Community and the Secretary-General to hold a conference on Yugoslavia in London, to begin in two days.

(Mr. Watson, United States)

The United States commends the efforts undertaken to date by the Secretary-General and the United Nations bodies, as well as the European Community, to reduce the suffering in Bosnia and Herzegovina. We particularly salute the men and women of the United Nations Protection Force, the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, and the European Monitoring Mission, and offer our deepest condolences for those of them who have lost their lives on their perilous humanitarian missions.

Finally, I want to reiterate that my Government will never accept changes in boundaries achieved through force and intimidation. It is the firm position of my Government that the United States does not recognize Serbia-Montenegro as the continuation of the former Yugoslavia. Therefore, the claim by Serbia-Montenegro to continue automatically the membership of the former Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia in the United Nations cannot be accepted, and the United States believes that this should be confirmed by the adoption of appropriate resolutions by the Security Council and the General Assembly. Pending such action by the Security Council and the General Assembly, the participation of the representatives of Serbia-Montenegro in the activities of the Security Council or the General Assembly should be viewed as without prejudice to the disposition of this issue. We ask that all States join in putting an end to the charade that the brutal, expansionist regime currently in power in Belgrade is entitled to the rights and privileges of the former Yugoslavia. We urge support for a Security Council resolution asking the General Assembly to determine that what was formerly Yugoslavia no longer exists. To pretend otherwise is a disservice to all.

Mr. AL-NI'MAH (Qatar) (interpretation from Arabic): Allow me at the outset to extend to you, Sir, our thanks for your persistent efforts in

(Mr. Al-Ni'mah, Qatar)

guiding the deliberations of the Assembly and in highlighting its role, thereby enabling it to achieve better results. I should also like to extend our thanks to all the States that called for this convening of the Assembly. They deserve our recognition for their commendable efforts.

The acts of aggression committed against non-Serbians among the people of Bosnia and Herzegovina arouse the conscience of humanity. The international community cannot stand idly by. Aggression must be condemned and practical measures must be taken to deter it and to recover the usurped rights and territories of their legitimate owners. The United Nations cannot shirk its responsibility vis-à-vis this act of aggression committed against a Member State recognized by many other States throughout the world. We must therefore discuss a practical plan of action within the framework of this new item on our agenda.

In my country, the Council of Ministers met, under the presidency of His Royal Highness the Prince of Qatar, to review the ongoing acts of aggression pursued by the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia - Serbia and Montenegro - against Bosnia and Herzegovina. After reviewing the United Nations resolutions, in particular Security Council resolution 757 (1992), the Council of Ministers adopted a resolution calling for the State of Qatar to cease forthwith all dealings with Serbia-Montenegro in all matters except those relative to humanitarian and medical support. The Council of Ministers supported the international efforts made to put an end to the acts of aggression against Bosnia and Herzegovina. That is my country's position on the problem of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

We call on the United Nations to confront the crimes committed against human rights under the pretext of "ethnic cleansing", an abhorrent concept

(Mr. Al-Ni'mah, Qatar)

that recalls shameful events of modern history. It was thought that such concepts had become obsolete. It is incumbent upon the international community to confront this aggression through all available means so that Bosnia and Herzegovina can preserve its territorial integrity and the rights of its people, in all their ethnic diversity, to liberty, independence and dignity within internationally recognized borders.

If we allow the international community to sit idly by and fail to deter such senseless aggression, we will be presaging the utter failure of the new world order. It would be rather difficult to predict the dire consequences of such an act in other parts of the world. Hence, my delegation supports the draft resolution before the General Assembly because it upholds all the aforementioned principles. I should like to draw attention in particular to the reference to Chapter VII of the Charter in paragraph 5 of the draft resolution.

If these acts of aggression do not stop after the adoption of that draft resolution, it will be incumbent on the Security Council to take all practical measures to restore legitimacy. We call, through this international forum, for every effort to be exerted in order to put an end to the carnage being inflicted upon the people of Bosnia and Herzegovina by those who persist in tyranny, those misguided despots draped in the cloak of unjust Serbian ethnic fanaticism, those who have gone so far as to create miserable conditions and to trample upon all the norms of right and justice.

(Mr. Al-Ni'mah, Qatar)

It is high time those people were called to account for what they are doing and heeded the Organization's calls. Those criminals who are demolishing the pillars of history and civilization and killing children, young people and men and women in Bosnia and Herzegovina must be stopped immediately; they must not be permitted to continue their crimes. It is high time for the incessant Serbian ethnic repression to stop. It is time for the Serbian ethnic frenzy, boiling with hatred, to subside and be converted into love, which should spread all over the country, a country where various branches of civilization meet. That civilization was far removed from excesses and hatred. It was a meeting point of peoples where pillars of civilization and creativity in arts and letters were erected.

A meeting of minds took place among past generations. What is the cause of the conflict today? How long will people persist in hatred and acts of aggression? We look forward to a resolution that will put an end to the suffering of Bosnia and Herzegovina. We look forward to an end to this burning fire, to a light at the end of the tunnel, promising a bright future for this people, with peace prevailing and with a return of justice embracing all ethnic groups.

The crisis was not created by human hands. It was created by a hateful hand, trying to inflict destruction on once peaceful lands. Our international bodies should act seriously to put an end to all the suffering. The evil hands undermining the pillars of civilization in Bosnia and Hertzegovina must recognize that in our community of nations there is no place for criminals destroying civilization; in our Organization there is a place only for those calling for a richer human structure, a structure embracing the divine religions and calling for love and brotherhood.

(Mr. Al-Ni'mah, Qatar)

This world of ours is a place only for what is good for humanity. The march of mankind represented by the Organization has no choice but to favour what is good and just.

God has created us as different peoples and different tribes so that we can know each other. Each has his own religion. He created us so that we may grow close to each other, so that we may build this world of ours on the basis of sympathy, peace and justice. Other representatives have their own religion; I have mine. May people live happily and may the world enjoy peace.

Mr. SEIM (Norway): In the view of the Government of Norway, the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, a new entity made up of only two former Yugoslav Republics, is not to be automatically regarded as the successor State of the Federal Socialist Republic of Yugoslavia. The issue should be solved through the appropriate admission procedures in the relevant international institutions.

The atrocities committed against the civilian population in Bosnia and Herzegovina call for immediate action by all nations. We must continue to work towards a peceful negotiated solution. Norway supports the mediation efforts made by the United Nations, the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE) and the European Community with the aim of achieving a settlement of the conflict. Sanctions against the aggressors must be effectively enforced and all arms deliveries must be stopped. The principle of territorial integrity and sovereignty must be respected.

The practices of "ethnic cleansing" are totally unacceptable, and the reports of human rights violations in the detention camps are of great concern to us all. We welcome the appointment of a Special Rapporteur regarding the conditions in the detention camps. We hope this mission will lead to more

(Mr. Seim, Norway)

humane treatment and the closure of the camps. We should also bear in mind a principle of international law - the obligation of States to prosecute and punish persons who have committed war crimes.

The indiscriminate use of heavy weapons against civilians and the flagrant violations of international law must immediately be brought to an end. Norway has responded positively to the initiative taken by the Secretary-General to make arrangements for international supervision of all heavy weapons in Bosnia and Herzegovina, and has offered to make available 15 military observers for such arrangements.

Security Council resolutions 770 (1992) and 771 (1992) were clear signals to the parties to the conflict that the world cannot sit quietly and watch the continued attacks against the civilian population in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

International humanitarian aid must be allowed to reach the suffering population. We once again urge the parties to the conflict to cooperate with the United Nations, the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), the International Committee of the Red Cross and other relevant organizations in this respect. As we stated in Geneva on 31 July, the Norwegian Government will, subject to parliamentary approval, contribute an additional $20 million to the UNHCR programme for refugees from the conflict area.

There is a risk of the conflict's spilling over into other areas of ethnic tension, leading to new crises. We hope that the recent decision taken by the CSCE to deploy international observers in Kosovo, Sandjac and Vojvodina will help to defuse the situation in these areas. Preventive diplomacy represents, in our view, an important avenue that must be explored in our efforts to avoid a further spread of the conflict in the former Yugoslavia.

Mr. BUDAI (Hungary): We welcome the discussion of the situation in Bosnia and Herzegovina at these meetings of the General Assembly. Since the beginning of the Yugoslav crisis, Hungary has advocated a peaceful settlement of the conflict through negotiations on the basis of democratic values and respect for the right of nations to self-determination and for the human and minority rights of the population. It is our firm conviction that peace in what was formerly Yugoslavia can only come from a cease-fire that is respected and from a negotiated settlement.

In that spirit, Hungary welcomed the intensified international efforts by the European Community, the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe and the United Nations to induce all parties to settle their differences at the conference table. The forthcoming London conference offers a new and real opportunity to launch a meaningful peace process, and we are pleased to see the Secretary-General as one of the Co-Chairmen of that conference.

Our delegation sincerely hopes that the participants in the London conference, including the Co-Chairmen, will spare no effort to strengthen international peace and security, to reject aspirations to change borders by force, and to protect the sovereignty, territorial integrity and political independence of the newly-born States in the territory of the former Yugoslavia, including Bosnia and Herzegovina.

We are deeply concerned at continuing reports of widespread violations of international humanitarian law, and in particular reports of the imprisonment and abuse of civilians in camps, prisons and detention centres within the territory of the former Yugoslavia, especially in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

(Mr. Budai, Hungary)

Hungary has been following with profound concern the escalation of violence and the deterioration of the humanitarian situation in the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina. We strongly condemn the horrifying practice of "ethnic cleansing", which constitutes a grave violation of international humanitarian law.

Public opinion and the Government in Hungary are deeply concerned at the human misery and material devastation brought upon the peoples of the former Yugoslavia, including the continuous and systematic violations of the human rights and minority rights of hundreds of thousands of Hungarians who live in the province of Vojvodina. The future of the Hungarians and all other minorities inhabiting the southern Slav states could be assured by, inter alia, the institution of territorial and cultural autonomies.

For the Republic of Hungary, respect for human rights and the rights of national minorities is not merely a legal and humanitarian question; it is also an integral part of international collective security. The alarming human-rights situation in several regions, including Vojvodina, Kosovo and Sandjac, should be closely monitored by the United Nations. In this regard, we welcomed the extraordinary session of the Commission on Human Rights to consider the situation in Bosnia and Herzegovina, as well as the subsequent decision of the Economic and Social Council to appoint a Special Rapporteur to investigate allegations of human-rights abuses throughout the former Yugoslavia.

The voices of the national minorities, including the Hungarian population of Vojvodina, should also be heard at the London conference. The protection

(Mr. Budai, Hungary)

of the human rights and safety of all the minorities is one of the crucial issues in the southern Slav conflict that deserves utmost attention from the participants in the conference.

The favourable changes of recent years have created proper conditions for the United Nations to put into practice the principles and purposes that were enshrined in its Charter back in 1945. The world Organization has now escaped the paralysing effect of great-Power confrontation and is now able to respond more effectively to challenges to peace, security and human dignity.

As one of the current members of the Security Council, Hungary supported the adoption of resolution 770 (1992), calling upon Member States to take all measures necessary to facilitate, in coordination with the United Nations, the delivery of humanitarian assistance wherever needed in Bosnia and Herzegovina, and resolution 771 (1992), condemning all violations of international humanitarian law, in particular the horrendous practices of "ethnic cleansing". The international community should once again remind all those who commit or order the commission of those criminal atrocities of their responsibility in respect of those crimes.

Hungary welcomed the signing of the London agreement by all Bosnian parties on 17 July 1992; that agreement also has provisions concerning the return of all refugees. We gladly joined the call for the maximum use of the cease-fire to bring humanitarian relief and supplies to all parts of Bosnia and Herzegovina. Despite the agreement and despite the resolutions of the Security Council, military action continues. The ongoing attacks by Serbian elements in Bosnia, especially the merciless heavy artillery attacks against

(Mr. Budai, Hungary)

the civilian population, threaten the delivery of urgently needed humanitarian aid, jeopardize the safety of United Nations personnel, put at risk the lives of thousands of citizens and force even more of them to leave their homes and seek refuge abroad.

By far the greatest responsibility for the tragedy of Bosnia and Herzegovina and for the military actions against that State Member of the United Nations lies with the Serbian leadership, the Yugoslav People's Army and those who want to implement the infamous concept and dangerous delusion of creating an "ethnically pure" nation-State.

There is a need for an urgent negotiated political solution to the situation in Bosnia and Herzegovina and for the protection and preservation of the sovereignty, territorial integrity, political independence and national unity of that country. Although the London conference opening on 26 August will address broader problems of the former Yugoslavia, we hope that the General Assembly's present discussion of the situation in Bosnia and Herzegovina, and the resolution that will be adopted, will encourage the conference. At the same time we know that there is still a long way to go before a viable solution and peace can be achieved, and that therefore the General Assembly too should remain seized of this matter.

Mr. SNOUSSI (Morocco) (interpretation from French): The international community is faced with a grave situation: a new Member of our Organization, Bosnia and Herzegovina, finds its sovereignty, territorial integrity and very existence seriously threatened, in flagrant violation of international law and the United Nations Charter.

(Mr. Snoussi, Morocco)

The urgent resumption of the session of the General Assembly is therefore fully justified and reflects the will of all United Nations Members to consider every means available to find a solution to a situation that is revolting to us all.

Like all other peace- and justice-loving countries, Morocco is horrified by the bloody events taking place in Bosnia and Herzegovina and by the terror for which the Serbs are responsible - and the international community is aware of it - in flagrant violation of the United Nations Charter and the elementary principles of international law.

In his report on 12 May 1992, the Secretary-General pointed out:

> "All international observers agree that what is happening is a concerted effort by the Serbs in Bosnia and Herzegovina, with the acquiescence of, and at least some support from, JNA, to create 'ethnically pure' regions ... The techniques used are the seizure of territory by military force and intimidation of the non-Serb population." (S/23900, para. 5)

Since that time, the situation has, unfortunately, worsened. Indeed, this aggression has been accompanied by a massive migration of civilians, especially Muslims, who have fled from the violence, terror and massacres. Muslim, Jewish and Catholic religious sites have been desecrated. Hospitals have come under attack. Innocent children have been savagely massacred. The Kingdom of Morocco can but condemn this genocide and express its deep indignation at these barbaric and inhuman crimes, systematically perpetrated against innocent civilians.

For its part, the international community cannot remain indifferent to these abhorrent practices, which represent a serious threat to international

(Mr. Snoussi, Morocco)

peace and security. In the name of this abominable policy of "ethnic cleansing", more than 2 million Bosnians - especially Muslims, but also those of other religions - have been driven from their homes. Thousands and thousands of non-Serb Bosnians have been confined in concentration camps, where they receive the most degrading and inhumane treatment - indeed, we have all seen them on television and in press pictures.

The Kingdom of Morocco strongly condemns this aggression against Bosnia and Herzegovina, as it also condemns the racist practices of "ethnic cleansing" and the massive violations of human rights, for these are an affront to the international community and a flagrant violation of international humanitarian law, including the 1949 Geneva Convention on the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War.

It is up to our international community to assume its responsibility to rein in the unbridled nationalism that has caused the tragedy of the Bosnian people, and we must prevent such nationalism from spreading. We cannot and must not allow the horrors of 50 years ago to be revisited upon the world. Collective action in keeping with the United Nations Charter is required in order to stop the human suffering and end the aggression against a Member State.

The Security Council's latest resolutions, which are undoubtedly a positive step in the search for a solution to this conflict, essentially call for the sending of humanitarian assistance and for access to the concentration camps by humanitarian organizations such as the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) and the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC).

(Mr. Snoussi, Morocco)

Humanitarian assistance is indeed necessary - as is an improvement in the currently inhumane conditions of the detainees - but these cannot be substituted for the urgent search for a just and equitable solution guaranteeing Bosnia and Herzegovina its independence, territorial integrity and national sovereignty. In this connection, we hope that the London Conference will succeed in settling this conflict, thus allowing the people in the region to reconcile and to live once again, as they did in the past, in harmony and concord. But for that conference to succeed, it will have to avoid pitfalls, faits accomplis or the dismemberment of Bosnia and Herzegovina, since, given all this tragedy, there are legitimate fears and uncertainties.

To restore peace, Bosnia and Herzegovina must first regain its sovereignty over its entire territory. All displaced persons must be allowed to return to their homes and regain their property, and aggression, of course, must be ended. Those are the conditions that will make a just and lasting peace possible. We must bear these goals in mind if we do not in future wish to see evil become the rule, to see the evil committed in Bosnia and Herzegovina also committed in your home or mine. That conference must be an appeal, certainly, but it also must serve as a warning from the international community to one of its members, one which has trampled underfoot all the values and rules we hold dear. May that member heed our appeal.

Mr. AL-FAIHANI (Bahrain) (interpretation from Arabic): These meetings of the General Assembly are taking place under very difficult conditions in Bosnia and Herzegovina, a Member of the United Nations.

This is not the first time that the United Nations has been seized of

(Mr. Al-Faihani, Bahrain)

this situation. Indeed, the Security Council has several times studied the deterioration of the situation and adopted several resolutions, the most recent of which are resolutions 770 (1992), which was adopted under Chapter VII of the Charter, and resolution 771 (1992). In addition, the Economic and Social Council adopted a resolution on this issue at its meeting on 18 August. But despite efforts by the United Nations, we still face a situation of bloodshed and murder.

The consideration of the question of aggression against Bosnia and Herzegovina at this session should take into account two essential points: the political dimension and the humanitarian dimension.

With regard to the political dimension, the Security Council has studied this question in several of its resolutions. These resolutions - and I am thinking especially of 757 (1992) - defined the aggressor and the victim in Bosnia and Herzegovina, and the Security Council also considered the question of the violation of the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Bosnia and Herzegovina and the occupation of its territory.

With regard to the humanitarian dimension, the international community has been horrified by the spectacle of concentration camps, where thousands of sons of Bosnia and Herzegovina have been detained. "Ethnic cleansing" continues to this day, provoking the disgust of all humankind. Murders, expulsions, sieges, destruction, defamation - all are characteristic of this aggression. Such a situation is continuing and no distinction is made among women, children and the elderly. It violates the most elementary principles of humanitarian law.

The resumption of the forty-sixth session of the General Assembly to

(Mr. Al-Faihani, Bahrain)

study the situation in Bosnia and Herzegovina is taking place to reaffirm the international community's stance on the aggression against the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina. During this session, we must take additional measures to eliminate the consequences of that aggression.

(Mr. Al-Faihani, Bahrain)

Bosnia and Herzegovina needs the support of this international body if it is to play its role in the international community. At the same time, the people of Bosnia and Herzegovina must be allowed to enjoy their inherent right to a peaceful life in their own country. This can be achieved only if the following conditions are met: first, respect for the territorial integrity and independence of Bosnia and Herzegovina; second, respect for the cease-fire; third, implementation of the collective security measures laid down in the Charter and repeated in Security Council resolutions; fourth, cessation of the "ethnic cleansing" operations, closing of concentration camps, release of detainees and repatriation of expelled ppersons; and, fifth, provision of humanitarian assistance to civilians.

In conclusion, the international community, now more than ever before, must shoulder its historic responsibilities vis-à-vis the people of Bosnia and Herzegovina. The aggression against Bosnia and Herzegovina concerns not only individual States but all the States Members of the United Nations. Our Organization must consider this question. Time is of overriding importance in this situation. The consequences of any delay could gravely affect the stability of the world.

Mr. SULIMAN (Sudan) (interpretation from Arabic): My delegation commends the international community, represented in the Permanent Missions to the United Nations, for promptly holding these meetings of the General Assembly to deal with the situation in Bosnia and Herzegovina. We hope that these historic meetings will adopt a resolution that will put an end to this human tragedy and find a way out of the situation on the basis of international legitimacy and respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity.

(Mr. Suliman, Sudan)

History is about to repeat itself in the Balkans. The people of Bosnia and Herzegovina are again enduring tragedy. What is taking place in Bosnia and Herzegovina is a real conflict, which threatens international peace and security and casts dark shadows on the future of world security.

The core of the matter is that a sovereign State, a Member of the international Organization, is exposed to foreign aggression designed to annex its territory and forcibly displace and murder its people. What is taking place today in Bosnia and Herzegovina must be condemned. This is not an internal situation: it is intervention by certain circles designed to escalate the fighting there; it is a matter that threatens international peace and security. If the entire world does not rise up and confront this situation, it will have to share in the responsibility for the consequences.

Of course, humanitarian aid must be provided immediately, in order to help the helpless men, women and children in the country. This assistance must be furnished immediately, without any obstacles. It is also necessary to stop the fighting, which is taking the lives of helpless civilians. An end must be put also to the process of "ethnic cleansing", which has its equivalent only in slavery. This is a process of violence, murder, forced expulsion and ethnic replacement.

The Serbian militia and the Federal Yugoslav Army are breaching the Charter of the United Nations. The entire international community must therefore intervene militarily in order to ensure the withdrawal of these invading armies from Bosnia and Herzegovina without any delay. The barbaric acts of aggression committed by these forces and other militias in Bosnia and Herzegovina demand all the measures necessary to stop these acts and to ensure

(Mr. Suliman, Sudan)

repatriation of the people who have been forced to leave. These actions of the Serbian forces violate international law and common international standards. These acts have prompted my Government to withdraw its ambassador from Belgrade. Federal Yugoslavia has lost its status and it can no longer be recognized. We hope that other States will follow our example.

My delegation has studied the draft resolution before the Assembly, and we wish to make the following comment.

Under the nineteenth paragraph of the preamble, the General Assembly would commend the efforts of the Secretary-General, the Security Council and United Nations agencies. We do not in fact give them any credit in this respect. Indeed, had there been such praiseworthy efforts, things would not have reached the present state, and we should not have been obliged to find a way to hold a special session of the General Assembly. We therefore wish to record our reservations of these efforts.

In conclusion, I must make a brief observation.

During the past 10 years we have heard many statements in which terrorism and bloodshed were associated with Islam and the Muslims. The tragedy of Sarajevo exposes the lie and debunks the myth. It is time to put an end to this lack of righteousness.

Mr. WISNUMURTI (Indonesia): Indonesia is deeply saddened by the tragic events that are occurring in the Balkan region. The break-up of the former Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, which has resulted in the emergence of newly independent States that have acceded to full United Nations membership, has, tragically, also resulted in conflict and carnage. The world is indeed shocked that the birth of these new countries, a time of pride and

(Mr. Wisnumurti, Indonesia)

for nation-building, has unleashed age-old ethnic and religious rivalries, resulting in indiscriminate violence and massive destruction. We are truly appalled that bitter enmity has turned brother against brother and claimed thousands of innocent victims, especially among the civilian population in Bosnia and Herzegovina. The heritage of a people is in the process of being destroyed, as religious and historical landmarks are demolished and persons are uprooted.

Indonesia is deeply concerned over the violations of the sovereignty, territorial integrity and political independence and national unity of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina, a Member of the United Nations. We are gravely alarmed by the massive violations of human rights inflicted on its people and in particular the abhorrent policy and practice of "ethnic cleansing", directed especially against the Muslim community in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Such violations of human rights and common standards are extremely repugnant and totally against the established moral values of civilized nations and societies. Those who commit such violations should be held accountable by the international community.

The alarming reports of atrocities being inflicted on the people in Bosnia and Herzegovina, on women and children, offer us a stark reminder of the inhumanity of which man is capable and which the United Nations was formed to overcome. Forcible evictions of indigenous populations, increasing flows of refugees to neighbouring countries, and repeated violations of cease-fire agreements testify to the horrible toll exacted in Bosnia and Herzegovina, and the difficulties endured by its people.

(Mr. Wisnumurti, Indonesia)

Particularly disturbing throughout this tragedy are the delay and obstruction of humanitarian relief efforts for the civilian populations, adding to the endless suffering of the people. Humanitarian assistance must be made available to any people, throughout the world, unimpeded, to ensure its survival.

We share the pain and outrage expressed by the international community in this forum and others. We agree that the situation in Bosnia and Herzegovina cannot be allowed to continue and that it must be brought to a speedy conclusion. We urge all parties to respect its territorial integrity and political independence and to refrain from recognizing the acquisition of territory by force or by abhorrent "ethnic cleansing". We are resolved not to condone resort to force in any form of external interference or aggression against the territorial integrity of a Member State of the United Nations. Moreover, human rights and international humanitarian law must be respected.

The Ministerial Meeting of the Coordinating Bureau of the Non-Aligned Countries, held in Indonesia last May, addressed itself to this pressing issue, and similar sentiments were expressed and outrage voiced over the deteriorating situation in that newly independent nation. I should like to recall that in their press communiqué, the Ministers demanded an immediate cessation of hostilities and bloodshed and called for full respect for the territorial integrity of Bosnia and Herzegovina and the deployment of United Nations peace-keeping forces. Furthermore, they underscored the importance of preserving the cultural heritage of its people and the urgency of providing international humanitarian assistance, which has recently been getting through to some besieged cities.

Indonesia deeply regrets that the international community has thus far

(Mr. Wisnumurti, Indonesia)

been unable to effectively address the situation and protect the people of Bosnia and Herzegovina from bloodshed and injustice. The challenge now before us is to find the most effective means to bring an end to the violence and restore respect for the territorial integrity of a State Member of the United Nations.

The Security Council has taken the first important step towards the adoption of effective measures to stop the suffering of the people of Bosnia and Herzegovina. We must seize upon these positive steps and pursue negotiations, giving diplomacy every opportunity to succeed in finding a peaceful solution while avoiding an escalation of conflict and destruction. The Secretary-General has a central role to play in such an effort if we are indeed to move from peace-keeping operations to peacemaking. Every effort must be made first to defuse the situation.

As a Member of the United Nations, Indonesia is duty-bound to comply with the provisions of the Security Council resolutions and has taken steps to do so. We sincerely hope that the establishment of a stable peace and a harmonious, multi-ethnic and multi-religious Bosnia and Herzegovina, free from external interference, can be accomplished through negotiation, and that the pain and suffering of its people can be brought to an end.

Mr. BATIOUK (Ukraine) (interpretation from Russian): The delegation of Ukraine supported the inclusion on the agenda of the Forty-sixth Session of the General Assembly of a new item, "The situation in Bosnia and Herzegovina". This question is one of the most urgent and important ones in the work of the United Nations.

To resolve it, the entire potential of our Organization must be put into

(Mr. Batiouk, Ukraine)

operation, including the possibilities of the General Assembly. This forum, bringing together virtually all the States of the world, including all States directly involved in the conflict on the territory of the former Yugoslavia, has the needed political weight and authority to bring the warring parties to their senses and thereby help them end the fratricidal war in the Balkans, a war which is a shameful stain on Europe and on all of civilized mankind.

Despite actions undertaken at the international and regional levels, the situation in Bosnia and Herzegovina continues to worsen and it has reached a critical point. Military actions by the warring parties continue. The norms of international law are crudely trampled upon and totally innocent people are dying. There is a catastrophic drop in food supplies in Sarajevo and other cities, putting the populations of that region on the edge of death by starvation.

There is deep concern over news about the violation by the conflicting parties of the provisions of the Geneva Conventions of 12 August 1949. In this connection, the delegation of Ukraine would like to support the recent decisions by the Security Council, which contain a demand to allow relevant international organizations, including the International Committee of the Red Cross, immediate, unimpeded and continued access to places of detention of civilians on the territory of the former Yugoslavia, especially in Bosnia and Herzegovina, in order to carry out, on the spot, an impartial investigation into information about inhumane treatment of those civilians. We think that those involved in the conflict will do everything they can to facilitate that access.

Ukraine took quite seriously the appeal to States contained in Security Council resolution 770 (1992), an appeal to take at the national level, or

(Mr. Batiouk, Ukraine)

through regional organs or agreements, all necessary measures to facilitate the provision of humanitarian assistance to Sarajevo and other places in Bosnia and Herzegovina, wherever such assistance is needed. We consider that Security Council decision primarily as a powerful means for political influence on the parties to the conflict. We should like very much to hope that reason and common sense will prevail and thereby eliminating the need to use military force to ensure unhindered delivery of food and other humanitarian supplies.

In connection with violations of human rights on the territory of the former Yugoslavia, Ukraine cannot fail to draw the attention of the international community to the disastrous situation of the Ukrainian minority, especially in Prnjavor in Bosnia and Herzegovina, Vukovar in Croatia and the villages of Miklushevci and Petrovci in Vojvodina, which at present are under the control of the Serbs. Ukrainians are subjected to constant police searches and intimidation. They are chased from their homes, deprived of their property and forced to participate in military activities. There are instances of harsh reprisals against the civilian population. In fact, virtually nothing exists any more of the Ukrainian settlements in the Vukovar and Petrovci regions. The Ukrainian minority is subjected to persecution for religious reasons as well. Their churches are expropriated or destroyed.

People are appealing for justice and humaneness, which are what the United Nations should defend. Therefore, we support the proposal contained in the intervention of the representative of Hungary, whereby the London Conference should listen also to those national minorities which are not direct parties to the conflict, but simply its helpless victims.

(Mr. Batiouk, Ukraine)

Like other countries, Ukraine is deeply concerned and alarmed by the criminal and provocative actions of the opposing parties against units of the United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR). As a result of those deliberate actions, two officers from the Ukrainian battalion were killed and 12 other servicemen were wounded to varying degrees. Contingents from other States also suffered serious losses.

As pointed out in a statement by the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of Ukraine on 21 August:

> "Intentional, provocative firing at UNPROFOR forces is a crude violation of the principles and norms of international law and may be considered by countries that send military contingents to do United Nations peace-keeping work as inimical acts against their citizens."

By the same token, the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of Ukraine has decisively and vigorously demanded that the conflicting parties take all measures necessary for an immediate and unconditional end to deliberate hostile actions against the Ukrainian battalion within the United Nations peace-keeping forces. The Ukrainian Parliament made an urgent appeal to the Secretary-General of the United Nations and the Security Council, urging them to use the Organization's full authority and potential to implement Security Council resolution 770 (1992) so as to ensure the maximum protection for the military personnel in the United Nations peace-keeping congingent.

The Government of Ukraine is convinced that a comprehensive solution to the conflict on the territory of the former Yugoslavia is possible only through peaceful means, at the negotiating table. Moreover, the keystone of a settlement should be the fundamental principles of respect for human rights, the rights of national minorities, and the rights of peoples to resolve the issues of their own political structure. We attach great significance to the

(Mr. Batiouk, Ukraine)

international conference on Yugoslavia under the co-chairmanship of the United Nations and the European Community. The first stage of that conference begins the day after tomorrow, on 26 August in London. It is our opinion that this representative forum can be the place to search for ways of settling the conflict in accordance with the United Nations Charter and with the principles and mechanisms of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe.

In our view, this discussion of the situation in Bosnia and Herzegovina gives us the possibility, on the eve of the London conference, to compare the positions of many States, which will allow the Yugoslav parties to the conflict to take a sober look at the situation and return to the path of a political solution to the protracted conflict. In this connection, in Ukraine substantial changes were noted in the position of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, which were laid down in a letter from Mr. Panic to the President of the Security Council and the Secretary-General. In our view, Belgrade's unambiguously stated position acknowledging the republic boundaries of the former Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia as international boundaries, and its acknowledgement of the existing boundaries of Bosnia and Herzegovina, of the absence of territorial claims, and of the inadmissability of "ethnic cleansing" can play a positive role in the search for ways to settle the conflict.

It is necessary for the parties to be guided by the fact that political declarations and agreements must be followed by concrete actions. For, no matter how many agreements on ceasefires were concluded in Bosnia, not a single one has lasted long enough to be transformed into peace.

In conclusion, the delegation of Ukraine would like to point out that the draft resolution before us, contained in document A/46/L.76, is, overall, a

(Mr. Batiouk, Ukraine)

response to the task of establishing the necessary preconditions for a rapid conclusion to the conflict in Bosnia and Herzegovina. The main thing, in our view, is that it gives all parties to the conflict an unambiguous signal about the readiness of the international community to use all available means to promote a settlement in the Balkan powderkeg, and to promote the observance of the fundamental human rights and freedoms. Our delegation therefore supports the draft resolution.

Mr. ELHOUDERI (Libyan Arab Jamahiriya) (interpretation from Arabic): The General Assembly is meeting in resumed session to consider a problem that represents a flagrant violation of international peace and security - a problem resulting from the spread of conflicts in the former Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. That country is today witnessing acts of aggression committed by brothers who, until recently, were living in peace and friendship.

Our country, understanding the gravity of the situation, began trying to bridge the gap between the brothers at the beginning of the crisis. It appealed to them to find peaceful solutions so as to spare the bloodshed and create an atmosphere of stability in the region. In that connection, my country made contacts with Yugoslavia, a country linked by bilateral relations of friendship with mine, and within the framework of the Non-Aligned Movement, in which Yugoslavia, with all its different ethnic groups, played a pioneering role. It defended the interests of the third world through its role in the Non-Aligned Movement.

We are stricken with sadness at the aggression occurring in Bosnia and Herzegovina, a new Member of the United Nations. The acts of aggression committed by Serbian elements, supported by the Yugoslav Army, in full view of the world, with ever increasing killing, destruction, siege, starvation, and

(Mr. Elhouderi, Libyan Arab Jamahiriya)

concentration camps, are practices that violate human rights and breach all international laws and norms.

This proves clearly that the world is still governed by the arrogance of power and the imposition of the will of the strong upon the weak by threat and expansion. The General Assembly, meeting in resumed session, clearly manifests the impatience of the international community, the concern arising from the ongoing death and destruction in Bosnia and Herzegovina, and the increased danger to international peace and security posed by the problem. This meeting tests the international Organization. It tests its credibility and its ability to solve the problems threatening international peace and security.

(Mr. Elhouderi, Libyan Arab Jamahiriya)

This meeting also expresses the feeling of frustration and despair resulting from the failure of all attempts to end the grave deterioration of the situation, to bring about circumstances leading to peace and stability and to take important measures to end the suffering of a people subjected to displacement, destruction and annihilation.

We condemn the atrocities committed against the Muslims in Bosnia and Herzegovina and join in the efforts of the international community to provide humanitiarian assistance to save the lives of those in need and to enable international organizations to carry out their tasks of providing aid.

We also share the concern about the need to work to find a way to guarantee that the people of Bosnia and Herzegovina may recover their property and enjoy sovereignty, territorial integrity and political independence.

In conclusion, we call for an end to aggression. There is a need to follow the path of wisdom to end the conflict and work for a cease-fire. We call for an immediate end to military activities and the restoration of peace and security. There must be an end to policies of aggression against Bosnia and Herzegovina, with a peaceful solution to the problem.

Mr. KAWTHAR (Saudi Arabia) (interpretation from Arabic): History has witnessed many extremely ugly crimes. We were hoping that they would not be repeated after the passage of the age of barbarism, after the arrival of the second half of the twientieth century, when barriers between nations were removed and their spaceships roamed outer space. There is no place on this Earth where a criminal can destroy a nation, or a madman rape a city to satisfy himself or realize a profit without being punished.

(Mr. Kawthar, Saudi Arabia)

Sarajevo is burning these days; the news and pictures of the destruction of the city and its occupants are brought to us by news agencies, newspapers, television and international agencies, as well as those fleeing from the destruction, while calls for help are heard from the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

These spectacles, these dangerous violations, which are being committed by the Serbian forces, or forces supported by the Serbian side across the Bosnian borders, are violations of the Republic's sovereignty and its territorial integrity. The serious violations of human rights and international law, the continuing occupation of the land, the slaughter and the destruction of property, the forced evacuation, rape, arrest, and inhuman treatment in prisons and detention camps are all motivated by the ugly policy of racial purification, with total disregard for the lives and property of the Bosnian people. These crimes are punishable by law and condemned by the Charter, and we reject the reasons for them as well as their effects and results.

Reports indicate that tens of thousands have died as a result of these crimes and that more than 170,000 Muslim and Croats are being held in Serbian camps. More than a million suffer from shortages of food and medicine. In additicn to the mounting numbers of displaced persons, now totalling more than 2 million, damage is estimated in the billions of dollars. Experts warn of the possibility of more than 200,000 deaths during the coming winter if conditions remain as they are.

The Government of my country, the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, is closely following with concern what is happening. It is monitoring the bloody acts inside the newly independent republics after the disintegration of Yugoslavia,

(Mr. Kawthar, Saudi Arabia)

and is very concerned over what is happening in Bosnia and Herzegovina. My country joins the rest of the the world in condemning these barbaric and dangerous violations of the principles of the Charter and of human cooperation and the continuous aggression. It supports the right of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina to enjoy sovereignty, territorial integrity and security.

The Government of Saudi Arabia is continuing its efforts with various friendly States to save the children of this struggling people. It also continues to send financial and material assistance to alleviate the pain they endure. On orders from the Custodian of the Two Holy Mosques, King Fahd bin Abdul Aziz Al Saud, a High Commission was established to collect and dispatch major humanitarian and financial assistance to alleviate the suffering of the people of Bosnia and Herzegovina and to transport this assistance to them daily.

The continuing aggression against the people and Government of Bosnia and Herzegovina by the Serbian forces, or forces supported by the Serbians, in addition to all the violations I have referred to, makes the Government of Serbia bear a historic responsibility. It is a violation of the Charter of the United Nations, a challenge to all of us and a misuse of cease-fire agreements arranged under the auspices of the European Community or the United Nations. It is a dangerous attempt to impose a political and military fait accompli which we and the international community will oppose until legitimacy is restored to all the territories of Bosnia and Herzegovina. We have to warn that if it continues it will result in further suffering and pain, and its continuation will be a serious precedent which will be emulated by other adventurers in the future.

(Mr. Kawthar, Saudi Arabia)

We ask the international community gathered here, representing all the countries of the world, to express its conscience and take immediate action to help Bosnia and Herzegovina strengthen its defences. We should remove all obstacles to acquiring weapons for defence and do whatever is needed to guarantee the security and safety of the people of Bosnia and Herzegovina, allowing its Government to control its territories, with respect for its sovereignty and political independence.

We also urge that all necessary measures be taken to ensure the end of aggression against Croatia, as well as the intended aggression against other parts of the old Yugoslav Republic, particularly Kosovo. The aggressor must understand that it will not profit from its aggression, politically or regionally, and that it will be the loser after the adventure is over.

The delegation of Saudi Arabia joins preceding speakers in rejecting the claims made by the Belgrade Government that it is the successor to the Government of the former Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. This Government should prove it is qualified to be a member of the international community and its application should be subject to the consideration of Member States before its membership can be approved. This is a challenge to the international community. We strongly support the draft resolution, which represents the least that the international community should do.

The crisis does not concern Bosnia and Herzegovina, or the States of the former Yugoslavia, alone; it concerns all the Members of the United Nations. The integrity of the United Nations is being tested again while we deal with this crisis.

Mr. JOVANOVIC (Yugoslavia): We have gathered here today to discuss an extremely dangerous situation in Bosnia and Herzegovina, which used to be an integral part of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. The plight of the peoples in Bosnia and Herzegovina has affected us all most severely. We deeply deplore the heavy human losses and the devastation caused by the inter-ethnic and religious civil war that is raging there. We have heard the appeals for peace of many previous speakers, and we wish to add the voice of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, which for its part is doing all it can to achieve that peace.

Unfortunately we have also heard a number of unfounded accusations levelled against the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, even some blaming it for aggression. That is why we wish to use this opportunity also to present some facts that, regrettably, are very seldom taken into account.

Under its Constitution, Bosnia and Herzegovina is a State of free, equal constituent nations - Muslims, Serbs and Croats - which adopt the most important decisions by consensus in their highest organs of power. Consensus, in addition to the principle of equality, was one of the cornerstones of the system and of the existence of that Republic.

The problems arose precisely because of disregard for those principles at the time when the future of Yugoslavia was to have been decided. The interest of Serbs in Bosnia and Herzegovina to remain part of Yugoslavia was not taken into consideration. On the contrary, solutions ignoring their aspirations were imposed upon them. Premature recognition of Bosnia and Herzegovina was contrary to the decisions of the Conference on Yugoslavia that no one should recognize any of the Yugoslav republics until the final, positive outcome of the Conference on Yugoslavia; this led to the outbreak of full-scale civil war

(Mr. Jovanovic, Yugoslavia)

in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Besides, hasty recognition eliminated practically all prospects of the conference on Bosnia and Herzegovina; it was also contrary to the position taken by the Secretary-General and his personal envoy. The mistake of recognition cannot be undone by a new wrong decision to start military intervention. Two wrongs do not make a right.

As far as Bosnian Serbs are concerned, they constitute more than a third of the total population of Bosnia and Herzegovina; they have been living in those territories for centuries. This means that those Serbs did not come to Bosnia and Herzegovina yesterday. Nor did they come from Serbia, or the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia for that matter, committing aggression, as is often alleged. Consequently, Serbs, like Muslims and Croats, are one of the three constituent nations in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Concurrently with the nationalist pressures aimed at the secession of Bosnia and Herzegovina from Yugoslavia, a relentless media and political campaign was launched and pressures exerted to condemn the Serbs who oppose that act. This has caused alarm, even fear, among the Serbs in Bosnia, which is understandable given that only half a century ago the Serbian people living in that territory were the victims of an atrocious genocide inflicted upon them by pro-Nazi, pro-fascist Croatian and Muslim forces.

That propaganda campaign finally brought about the international recognition of the Government of Bosnia and Herzegovina against the will of Bosnian Serbs and without their participation. The will and the right of one of the three nations in Bosnia and Herzegovina, namely the Serbs, to exercise its right to self-determination has not been observed, while at the same time that right has been granted to Muslims and Croats. Members can judge for

(Mr. Jovanovic, Yugoslavia)

themselves whether this is in conformity with the principles of self-determination set out by the United Nations and embodied in the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination, in a number of other international legal instruments, and in political documents such as the Helsinki Final Act.

Since the very outbreak of war in Bosnia and Herzegovina, the neighbouring Federal Republic of Yugoslavia has been unjustifiably accused of aggression and the impression has been deliberately created that Yugoslavia is interfering in the internal affairs of Bosnia and Herzegovina. The legitimate concern of Serbs in Yugoslavia for the destiny of their brother Serbs in Bosnia and Herzegovina is thus equated with aggression, although that concern implies no interference in the internal affairs of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

We support the request in the draft resolution to achieve an immediate effective cease-fire in Bosnia and Herzegovina. We condemn the violations of human rights and the "ethnic cleansing". However, we feel compelled to draw attention to statements that simply distort the facts and to some portions of the draft resolution which are absolutely against any real wish to settle the civil war in Bosnia and Herzegovina and to restore peace.

The extent of the distortion of facts is evident in the draft resolution before us, which calls for the withdrawal of the Yugoslav National Army from all the territory of Bosnia and Herzegovina. Anyone really interested in what is going on will be familiar with the decision of the Government of Yugoslavia on the complete withdrawal of the Yugoslav Army from Bosnia and Herzegovina. It is well known that since 20 May not a single soldier of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia has remained in that territory, as has been

(Mr. Jovanovic, Yugoslavia)

unambiguously confirmed recently by the Force Commander of the United Nations Protection Force, General Nambiar. We are therefore astonished that the Yugoslav National Army is now requested by this draft resolution to withdraw.

Secondly, neither side in the civil war is blameless with respect to the abhorrent practice of "ethnic cleansing", and for the sake of truth this should be clearly reflected in the draft resolution. Allow me to remind the Assembly that the "ethnic cleansing" actually started in the Serbian province of Kosovo, where 200,000 Serbs have had to leave the province under pressure brought to bear by Albanian separatists throughout the last 20 years.

Mr. Simon Wiesenthal, a leading historian of the Holocaust, has said that "the first refugees in the Yugoslav conflict were the 40,000 Serbs who fled Croatia". The same practice was again introduced by the Croatian forces when they invaded Herzegovina in March this year. As a result, there are only a few hundred Serbs there, out of the 60,000 who lived there until March this year.

That is why we insist that "ethnic cleansing" is unacceptable and immoral no matter who it is committed by. The draft resolution should be balanced in order to be effective on that score.

The seventh preambular paragraph, which mentions the serious deterioration of the living conditions of Muslims and Croats in Bosnia and Herzegovina, is a clear example of discrimination. Why is the third constituent nation, the Serbs in Bosnia and Herzegovina, not included? Their living conditions have also harshly deteriorated, which is evidenced by several hundred thousand of them seeking refuge in Yugoslavia. Will it be possible to find a solution to the crisis if one third of the population in Bosnia and Herzegovina is always excluded in this way?

(Mr. Jovanovic, Yugoslavia)

Operative paragraph 3 does not correspond to real facts in the field, but is only an addition to continued efforts to blame one party, which does not deserve blame, because, as I stated earlier, since 20 May there has not been a single soldier of the Yugoslav Army on the soil of Bosnia and Herzegovina. On the contrary, according to all evidence, eyewitness accounts and the report of the Secretary-General, the Croatian Army is the only foreign military force in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Operative paragraph 4 calls for support for the Government and people of Bosnia and Herzegovina. In view of the fact that three constituent peoples live in this Republic, a question arises: for which people is the draft resolution voicing support? Such uneven-handedness and the calls addressed to all parties in many places in the draft resolution - which should always be the case - are actually inconsistencies that could be detrimental and lead to deterioration of the situation in Bosnia and Herzegovina, because it offers support to only one party to the conflict.

Requests for military intervention are also very dangerous, not only because this means adding weapons to a civil-war situation that already involves large stockpiles of arms. An additional danger entailed by this request is that it relies on forces in Bosnia that are not willing to end the armed conflict and that view involvement by foreign military forces as assisting the other two parties to the civil war.

I wish to ask this forum which one of the three constituent nations in Bosnia and Herzegovina is to be supported by United Nations armed intervention, and, accordingly, how can we prevent a possible extension of the conflict as a result of that intervention? This has been emphasized by many officials - United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR) and North Atlantic

(Mr. Jovanovic, Yugoslavia)

Treaty Organization (NATO) military experts, as well as those of other armies and countries - but evidently no attention was paid to those warnings.

We consider that a solution can be reached only through political negotiation, and therefore we suggest that emphasis be placed there, thus avoiding one-sided assessments and condemnation so that the it may be accepted by all parties and also be effective in achieving its goals. A political solution that has a chance of succeeding is an agreement by all three sides on a cantonal or confederal system for their common state. That principle was already adopted during the Conference on Bosnia and Herzegovina under Ambassador Cutilleiro, but it was later rejected by the Muslim side.

It is in the vital interest of the Government and the people of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia to achieve as soon as possible absolute peace and a just solution in the entire territory, and to settle urgently and in a democratic manner the problems of the States that emerged from the former Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. In that context, it is most important for us to stop immediately and unconditionally this tragic conflict in Bosnia and Herzegovina and initiate its peaceful settlement based on an agreement between the three nations living there. This was jointly emphasized by the Prime Ministers of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and the Republic of Turkey, Mr. Panic and Mr. Demirel, on 12 August 1992 during the visit of the Yugoslav Prime Minister to Ankara.

The Government of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia for its part took the following steps towards this end:

The Government of Yugoslavia firmly and categorically opposes the use of force to change the borders between countries, and proposed an immediate cease-fire in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

(Mr. Jovanovic, Yugoslavia)

The Yugoslav Government proposed the withdrawal of all heavy equipment from all three sides to the conflict, under international supervision.

The Yugoslav Government proposed the demilitarization of the whole territory of Bosnia and Herzegovina, which should be the result of a political settlement at the Conference on Bosnia and Herzegovina, or at the London conference.

Yugoslavia accepts the borders and has no territorial claims on Bosnia and Herzegovina. It shall support every arrangement agreed upon by all three of the constituent peoples of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Yugoslavia categorically rejects the barbaric practice of "ethnic cleansing" in any form and all of its tragic consequences, and will bring to justice any Yugoslav citizen against whom it obtains evidence of having engaged in any act of "ethnic cleansing". Yugoslavia will cooperate fully and freely with any international investigation into "ethnic cleansing".

Yugoslavia proposed permanent observation by the United Nations of all prison camps in Bosnia and Herzegovina and offered its assistance in reaching an agreement to exchange all detained persons and prisoners of war among the three parties in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Yugoslavia will cooperate in every way it can to ensure the peaceful delivery of humanitarian and relief supplies to the peoples of Bosnia and Herzegovina. It offers the facilities of Belgrade International Airport for this purpose, free of charge, from where relief supplies can be delivered quickly and safely by road to the outskirts of Sarajevo and other cities en route from Belgrade to Sarajevo. Yugoslavia would also participate in such a relief effort with food and medicine from its own reserves.

(Mr. Jovanovic, Yugoslavia)

Yugoslavia believes that the displaced persons and refugees from the civil war in Croatia and Bosnia and Herzegovina should be assisted in returning to and rebuilding their homes, and will cooperate in this effort in any way it can. There are at present more than half a million refugees in Yugoslavia who are being assisted and cared for by relatives, friends, the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) and agencies of the Yugoslav Government. More than 60,000 of these refugees are Muslims and Croats from Bosnia and Herzegovina; some of them are from Croatia.

The Prime Minister and Minister of Defence of Yugoslavia has taken all the steps available to try to ensure that no support for the combatants in the civil war in Bosnia and Herzegovina comes from Yugoslavia, but history teaches us that there is no paucity of people willing to profit from this kind of situation. Therefore, the assistance of the United Nations has been proposed in monitoring all of the border crossing points between Yugoslavia and Bosnia and Herzegovina. It would also be appreciated if the United Nations would establish observer posts at all Yugoslav border crossing points with Bosnia and Herzegovina and provide United Nations observers for all Yugoslav army air fields, as has already been suggested.

I have enumerated some proposals my Government has made concerning the resolution of the tragic situation in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

We have not yet received any response. What we did receive was further intensification of a most unjust and unfriendly campaign of allegations and accusations. On top of that, the most severe sanctions in the history of the United Nations were clamped upon the peoples of Yugoslavia, putting all the blame on it though fully aware of the fact that this will not solve the civil-war problems in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

(Mr. Jovanovic, Yugoslavia)

In spite of that, our determination to establish peace is motivated by the fact that it is the only way to settle the ongoing civil war in Bosnia and Herzegovina. We fully support the United Nations in its peace-keeping role. Yugoslavia, as a State Member of the United Nations, as far as the crisis in Bosnia and Herzegovina is concerned, has no other interests or aims of its own, or interests different from those of the United Nations.

(Mr. Jovanovic, Yugoslavia)

Yugoslavia is a partner, not an adversary, of the United Nations in the search for peace. Only by joint efforts of the whole international community can peace be achieved. In this context, it is necessary to ensure an identical and impartial approach towards all parties in the conflict, whatever their strategic concerns or ethnic and religious backgrounds.

In conclusion, let me express the belief that the General Assembly at this resumed session will render its full support and contribution to such an orientation.

In an effort to contribute to the formulation of a draft resolution which will, by its clear and objective message, enjoy the support of all the Members of the General Assembly, we have put forward concrete suggestions to the sponsors of the text before the Assembly. We do indeed hope that they will consider our proposals carefully and with understanding. That would facilitate the adoption of the draft resolution by consensus. If, however, the sponsors, for whatever reason, are not able to accept our amendments, my delegation will be obliged to call for a recorded vote on the draft resolution.

Mr. SACIRBEY (Bosnia and Herzegovina): I should like to offer my most sincere gratitude to you, Mr. President, and to those Member delegations that have endeavoured so tirelessly to bring before this noble body the matter of the tragic aggression against, and the suffering of, the people of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

I shall not squander this opportunity by merely expressing our disappointment or merely allocating responsibility, but I shall present our most sincere vision for a just and peaceful future for Bosnia and Herzegovina.

(Mr. Sacirbey, Bosnia and Herzegovina)

Nevertheless, to gain a clearer perspective of the future, one cannot avoid noting the causes for aggression and responsibility for the failure to stem it.

The sources of the aggression have been clearly identified by this body and various other international organizations as being in Belgrade. The lust of the Belgrade regime for continued absolute power and privileges is incorporated in the fascist drive for a Greater Serbia. This drive has been characterized by the subversion of, and aggression against, neighbouring sovereign States and a brutal war against the civilians of Bosnia and Herzegovina. The aggression has its local collaborators, but it was initiated and has been supported from the outset by Belgrade with weaponry, financing, troops, tactical planning and, most importantly, the philosophy of an ethnically cleansed Greater Serbia.

But "aggession" is too neutral a word for the crime being perpetrated against my country. This is a crime of the most heinous type. This is the rape of a country and a people. Although the criminal professes respect for Bosnia and Herzegovina, the crime in fact is characterized by the most brutal violence, by sadistic torture, murder and sexual assault. All cultural, religious and historical bonds between the people and the land are eradicated. Libraries, mosques, churches, landmarks and graveyards are razed. Our economic resources and production facilities are plundered.

And despite this most evident and heinous of crimes against us by a regime seeking to express its sadistic virility at our expense, despite the tremendous military superiority of the aggressor and our overwhelmed defences, no nation or responsible regional body has stepped in to end the assault

(Mr. Sacirbey, Bosnia and Herzegovina)

effectively. No gallant reaction has been offered, but mostly words of sympathy and assurances of ongoing respect for and recognition of sovereignty.*

In the meantime, the assault continues. First, our people's dignity is assaulted by the aggression, and then it is insulted by whispers that we are somewhat responsible for the aggression against us. We are told that we were brazen to seek freedom, democracy and tolerance from a dictatorship which had proved its predisposition to assaults on neighbouring States. We are castigated for resisting and we are told that if we did not fight back the aggression would end. Our distaste for the criminal and his act is characterized by the mediators as unproductive in bringing about a settlement. Our unwillingness to submit to and accept the aggressor's conquest is scorned. More empty rumours regarding our responsibility are uttered. This is done to force us to surrender to a settlement which will after the fact legitimize the crime and which will ultimately validate the criminal. This is done to defuse the public outcry, to preserve the prestige and reputation of those who have failed in their responsibility to defend the defenceless. Meanwhile, the aggressor, with ever-greater confidence that he will not be truly confronted, engages in an orgy of assaults against our Republic and our people.

Yes, we do now understand that some believe that our country and people are not worthy of the response called for by international law under the circumstances - certainly not gallantry, certainly no cavalry coming to our rescue. But we also know that most of the civilized community, especially

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* Mr. Rogers (Belize), Vice-President, took the Chair.

(Mr. Sacirbey, Bosnia and Herzegovina)

those more vulnerable or more inclined to act upon principle and the rule of law, feel our pain and see the necessity to stop the assault. Most recognize that the steps undertaken so far have been inadequate to stop the assault or to deter the criminal. We know that the lack of a resolute response has emboldened the criminal.

We are grateful for the efforts of brave relief workers and peace-keeping troops to relieve our suffering. We thank the world community for its generosity and response to our pain. Unfortunately, measures focused on humanitarian aid deal only with the symptoms, not the causes, of the aggression. Ultimately, our suffering and pain can be alleviated only when the criminal is resolutely confronted and the assault has been stopped. No future peace can be achieved if the aggressor feels that it will not be faced with the force of international law. Diplomacy and negotiations are poor substitutes for the force of international law and are viewed as weakness and as an opportunity for further aggression by the criminal.

Today, those responsible for aggression against us have just appeared before the General Assembly. With the sweet words of a seducer they are promising eternal commitment to the noble principles upon which this Organization is based. The same people who have appeared before the Assembly to distance themselves from these crimes are quoted in an international news magazine only this week praising criminals as "true Serbian patriots".

(Mr. Sacirbey, Bosnia and Herzegovina)

These are the same criminals who have already been identified as war criminals by Helsinki Watch and who would be in jail in any civilized nation. In Belgrade, on the other hand, they are paraded through the streets as national heroes.

So what is the solution? What does the Government of Bosnia and Herzegovina request? We ask for nothing more than the enforcement of resolutions already in place and for the opportunity to entrench democracy and continue our tradition as a multi-cultural and multi-religious society. We speak for the Serbians, Croatians, Muslims and others of our Republic - and not for our neighbours.

The problem is not one of perception but of a lack of commitment to implement clearly the necessary solutions embodied in current resolutions. This failure to implement has not only allowed the aggression to continue, and even expand, but has also given birth to a tendency towards revisionism, to excuse the failure and to perpetuate already-discredited options such as "even-handedness" and "cantonization".

The facts are clearly preserved in a report issued by the Secretary-General's office to the Security Council on 12 May 1992:

> "All international observers agree that what is happening is a concerted effort by the Serbs of Bosnia-Herzegovina, with the acquiescence of, and at least some support from, JNA, to create 'ethnically pure' regions in the context of negotiations on the 'cantonization' of the Republic in the EC Conference on Bosnia-Herzegovina, chaired by Ambassador Cutileiro. The techniques used are the seizure of territory by military force and the intimidation of the non-Serb population". (S/23900, para. 5)

(Mr. Sacirbey, Bosnia and Herzegovina)

We must now again request that at least the most basic provisions of resolutions 752 (1992) and 757 (1992) be enforced: that all military forces in our Republic, including all remaining elements of the Yugoslav National Army (JNA) be withdrawn, disbanded or placed under the control of our Government; similarly, that all heavy weaponry be withdrawn, neutralized or placed under the control of our Government; and that all military action and aggression against our Republic cease.

Although the terms of resolution 770 (1992) and 771 (1992) are incomplete, they need to be more urgently enforced. Countless towns, like Gorazde, Bihac and Tuzla, need to be opened for humanitarian relief. It is not sufficient to deliver aid only when the aggressor will allow it. It is not reasonable to expect that those who have specifically targeted civilians with military weaponry and "ethnic cleansing" will now allow them to be adequately fed.

Resolution 770 (1992) does not require that all other means be exhausted before military escorts are deployed. If more urgent steps are not promptly taken, even by the United Nations own estimates hundreds of thousands will perish from starvation and exposure.

The inadequate implementation of resolution 771 (1992) is also apparent as concentration-camp inmates are moved around in a cynical shell game. We suspect that too many concentration-camp inmates, especially those most embarrassing to the Belgrade regime and its local surrogates, are brutally murdered while being moved around.

Finally, it is not sufficient that these camps only be inspected. They must be dismantled, their unfortunate occupants freed and the inmates assisted in returning to their homes and allowed to remain there in safety.

(Mr. Sacirbey, Bosnia and Herzegovina)

Shamefully, "ethnic cleansing" continues unabated. Locked cattle cars full of unwil'ing human cargo make their way to our borders.

It is not sufficient or appropriate that the courageous personnel of the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees be faced with the impossible moral and political dilemma of either rejecting the aggressors' demands to complete the deportations at the risk of more death and suffering or effectively becoming a tool of "ethnic cleansing". Are we to expect that the only two options available to the United Nations are either to assist in the depopulation and the crime of "ethnic cleansing" or to stand by passively as hundreds of thousands are slowly squeezed into extinction?

Obviously, more is needed. Criminals must not be allowed to dictate political initiatives, especially the terms of peace, to the international community.

If in fact no help is forthcoming to stop this brutal aggression and save the victim, then the victim must be given an unhindered opportunity to save itself. It is beyond reason to argue that giving weaponry to the far weaker victim will add fuel to the fire when the aggressor has all he wants, and no one has taken measures truly to deprive him of the superiority that fuels the assault. Not coming to the victim's aid and at the same time denying the victim the means of self-defence effectively abets the crime. Self-defence can only, ultimately, help stop the aggression and bring about a more prompt and just solution . Similarly, the victim's acts of self-defence cannot be viewed as obstacles unless the goal is to have the victim surrender or to satisfy the unlimited desires of the aggressor.

Although traumatized by the assault, we still have confidence in the ideals of civilized behaviour and we have a vision of a much brighter future

(Mr. Sacirbey, Bosnia and Herzegovina)

for our people. We will approach the London talks enthusiastically, with constructive ideas for the recovery of our nation.

Recalling the Secretary-General's report of 12 May 1992, cantonization has been the incentive for aggression and "ethnic cleansing" in our country. Cantonization, as a basis for a potential settlement, will legitimize the assault on and the conquest of my country. This is certainly not a sound foundation for the future.

Mostly, this scheme would serve to partition our country. The boundary lines established under cantonization would beccme the battle lines of future generations and the chronic ulcers of a maligned nation. This aggression did not start as an ethnic or religious war; it is a cynical use of ethnicity as a political weapon; but in the future, under this scheme, it would truly become an ethnic conflict.

(Mr. Sacirbey, Bosnia and Herzegovina)

Finally, what would happen to most of us - Croats, Muslims, Serbs, and others - who do not see the utility or wisdom of ethnic separation and purity? Are we all to live in something that would be called the Muslim canton or republic? It seems odd and unjust that that majority of Serbs who have tried to maintain neutrality or who have fought alongside their Muslim and Croatian neighbours in resisting the aggressor would now have to choose between living in a so-called Muslim canton because some mediator does not recognize them as true Serbs, or submit themselves to living in a Serb canton, where they would be represented by those identified as war criminals by Helsinki Watch and others. Just imagine the absurdity of the legacy of a Serbian canton established under this scheme. Here lies Radovan Karadzic, the founder and father of the Serbian canton, prosecuted and hanged for war crimes by an international tribunal.

I believe the Serbian people and all of the people of Bosnia and Herzegovina deserve better. Our Republic has known over half a millenium of coexistence and tolerance. Churches, mosques, and synagogues share our cultural heritage with libraries, schools, and architectural works of art. We have in fact prospered from this coexistence by simultaneously sharing each other's heritage and still retaining our separate identities.

The vision we have would retrench this tradition of coexistence and tolerance while establishing the basis for a new secular and decentralized democracy. We will be a non-ideological, plural, secular and representative democracy. Our constitution, in the future as now, will guarantee to all of our people the broadest human rights, including full rights regarding religious beliefs and practice. Our legislative body is designed to provide each of our three major ethnic groups with the veto power to prevent the

(Mr. Sacirbey, Bosnia and Herzegovina)

oppression of any one group at the hands of the other two. To promote regional development and preserve local heritage, our democracy will be decentralized to allow for substantial local rule and direction.

A lasting peace in Bosnia and Herzegovina cannot be achieved on a foundation of aggression and injustice. The extremist elements of our community cannot be legitimized through appeasement. The forces of democracy, justice and tolerance must not be subverted by international efforts at solutions. They must in fact be promoted by all of us, for they represent the ideals and future of our country and humanity as a whole. We believe the draft resolution before us is a step to support these most noble ideals and to build a sound foundation for our country's future. We support it and encourage its adoption.

Mr. KOVACIC (Slovenia): In spite of highly commendable actions of the Security Council and the United Nations agencies - especially the courageous conduct of the United Nations Protection Force and the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees - as well as the efforts of other international organizations and individual States, such humanitarian organizations as the International Committee of the Red Cross, the Red Crescent, Caritas, and others; in spite of the efforts of the European Community, the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe, the Organization of the Islamic Conference, and individual States, the situation in Bosnia and Herzegovina is deteriorating to such a degree that it is absolutely necessary for the international community to take immediate further action.

(Mr. Kovacic, Slovenia)

The reports that we receive daily from Bosnia and Herzegovina and Croatia, both Members of the United Nations, are so alarming that it is appropriate for the General Assembly of the United Nations to address and try to influence the solution of this, one of the most acute problems of the international community today.

I will not attempt to repeat the description of the outrageous atrocities that are being committed in this war-torn country. They are all too obvious to all. The issue now is: what can we all do to stop this barbaric carnage on the threshold of the twenty-first century?

It is the firm belief of my Government that the basic condition for solving the political problems on the territory of the former Yugoslavia is the cessation of the armed conflict. Only then can the conditions for a political solution of the problems be achieved. But to stop the military activities, more determined political pressure should be exerted on those who are responsible for this unfortunate course of events in the former Yugoslavia.

The international community has recognized that Serbia and Montenegro bear this responsibility. Consequently, the Security Council adopted sanctions against those two countries. It is now up to all Member States to see to it that the economic and political isolation of Serbia and Montenegro is carred out to the letter in order to force them to comply with the rules of international conduct set out by the Charter of the United Nations.

The attempts of these two Republics of the former Yugoslavia to avoid responsibility for war in Bosnia and Herzegovina, after they had seized the entire and enormous military potential of the former Yugoslavia and had used it against other, more or less defenceless nations in the area, cannot be accepted. Their responsibility remains the same even in the case when these

(Mr. Kovacic, Slovenia)

arms are being used by the proxies of Serbian nationals within Bosnia and Herzegovina. What is important is that Serbia and Montenegro resume their full responsibility and immediately turn over to international control the arms that they have distributed to the Serbian population in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Only then can they expect to become credible partners in political negotiations.

Only the restoration of peace will create conditions for solving the main political issues. These solutions should be realistic and far-reaching so that future generations will not inherit the burden of the present war and genocide that is being carried out under the name of "ethnic cleansing". It is of paramount importance to preserve the integrity of the territory and the political independence and sovereignty of all the successors of the dissolved Yugoslavia, as well as to ensure general human rights and those of national minorities. A broad administrative autonomy, as proposed in the contractual provisions for the convention submitted by Lord Carrington to the participants in the conference on Yugoslavia, should be ensured on those territories where minorities are in a majority.

In the opinion of the Republic of Slovenia, the following immediate actions could provide a framework for ending the war and finding a political solution to the problems in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

First, in accordance with Security Council resolution 770 (1992), immediate and effective humanitarian assistance to all those who are endangered should be provided, thus contributing essentially to a cessation of war activities. Secondly, safety zones under the protection of international forces should be established in Bosnia and Herzegovina in which the threatened population, especially the Muslims, will find safe haven and to which the refugees could return. Thirdly, negotiations among representatives of the

(Mr. Kovacic, Slovenia)

three constituent nations of Bosnia and Herzegovina - Muslims, Croats, and Serbs - should be promoted in order to establish political and constitutional arrangements for their coexistence on the territories of their own administrative units. Fourthly, the statehood of Bosnia and Herzegovina should be preserved. The international community should assume a more active role in negotiations concerning the future of Bosnia and Herzegovina and provide relevant international guarantees for its safety and territorial integrity.

(Mr. Kovacic, Slovenia)

Slovenia supports the proposed draft resolution on Bosnia and Herzegovina. We see it as an important contribution to the search for a way out of the nightmare that is going on in Bosnia and Herzegovina. We believe that it can advance and accelerate the international actions for peace in this country and contribute to the results of the London conference on Yugoslavia, which will begin the day after tomorrow.

Finally, allow me to reiterate my Government's position concerning the problem of Yugoslavia's succession. Serbia and Montenegro cannot be the sole successor without the consent of the other constituent parts of the former Yugoslavia. In our opinion, their participation in today's meeting cannot prejudice future decisions on this matter.

Mr. HURST (Antigua and Barbuda): Allow me to extend my delegation's gratitude to the President for making this resumed session of the General Assembly possible.

Exactly 500 years ago, in 1492, when conquests were commonplace, the indigenous peoples of my Caribbean were made to suffer a fate which is not too dissimilar from the injustices being heaped upon the heads of the unfortunate victims in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Native peoples throughout the new world were driven from their ancestral homelands, to the benefit of others. The Arawaks and Caribs of my small Caribbean country were in fact completely eliminated by violence after that fateful year. Modern-day Antiguans and Barbudans know how tragic a history is that conquest. We have thus resolved to settle all future ethnic and racial differences through peaceful means.

The conflict in Bosnia and Herzegovina is tragic. "Ethnic cleansing", or whatever terminology is used to describe the perpetrators' crazed rationale, is contrary to the law of civilized nations. All multi-ethnic and

(Mr. Hurst, Antigua and Barbuda)

multi-racial societies must learn to settle historical and current differences through peaceful means. The United Nations, through the General Assembly or the Security Council, must never cease its efforts to find peaceful solutions to violent conflicts.

In that regard, the record of the United Nations in seeking an end to violent apartheid is instructive. The bantustan invention of apartheid South Africa was rejected by the international community; no force was required of the international community to reverse the farcical division of South Africa into artificially created ethnic homelands. Today the objectives of those who seek to creat ethnically pure corridors or cantons within the fractured land of Yugoslavia must be peacefully discouraged by the United Nations.

The international community will surely continue to isolate any nation which, through violence, succeeds in dispossessing innocent, defenceless citizens of their ancestral birthright, and no Member State will ever stand idly by while violent, vicious and illegal efforts are made to expel defenceless civilians from their homes and country. That age is over.

My country therefore urges acceptance of draft resolution A/46/L.76, which is currently before us. The freedom-loving peoples of my Antigua and Barbuda stand ready to support this community in its efforts to bring a speedy solution to the crisis. None the less, my countrymen are aware that other civil wars are raging in other countries, with equally harmful and equally painful results for innocent victims. Somalia, for example, is suffering a civil war compounded by the ravages of nature. This community cannot allow injustice to thrive anywhere, lest it raise its ugly head everywhere. Today,

(Mr. Hurst, Antigua and Barbuda)

therefore, Bosnia and Herzegovina compels our attention. But let the perpetrators of violence, discord and injustice beware. The international community shall not sit idly by now or in the future.

Mr. KUKAN (Czechoslovakia): In view of the gravity of the situation in Bosnia and Herzegovina, the efforts of the entire United Nations system are required; developments must be closely monitored by the United Nations and by all its relevant bodies. That is why the delegation of the Czech and Slovak Federal Republic, in the General Committee as well as here in the plenary Assembly, supported the request by Turkey for the inclusion of an additional item entitled "The situation in Bosnia and Herzegovina" on the agenda of the forty-sixth session, as well as its consideration on a priority basis.

Czechoslovakia follows with deep concern the tragic developments in the territories of the former Yugoslavia, most of them occurring in a state of deep internal crisis with very complex causes. My country makes every effort, in cooperation with other European democracies, especially member States of the European Community, and within the framework of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, to do all it can to contribute to an effective peaceful settlement of the conflict. To this end it started, and is engaged in, an intensive dialogue with the representatives of all States that have emerged on the territory of the former Yugoslavia, guided by the desire to maintain good relations with them now and in the future.

Our attitude is based on a need for overall assistance to create conditions and opportunities for a political dialogue of all the parties to the conflict, while respecting the key principles of international law and of the Helsinki process - namely, unconditional respect for human rights and

(Mr. Kukan, Czechoslovakia)

fundamental freedoms, including those of nations or those related to national minorities, and the principles of respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity, non-recognition of the acquisition of territory by force and the peaceful settlement of disputes.

Czechoslovakia supported the sanctions established by Security Council resolution 724 (1992), and by dispatching its contingent contributes to the activities of the United Nations peace-keeping forces - the United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR). We insist on the unconditional application of those sanctions, and should it prove necessary we will support their strengthening in order to prevent the escalation of the conflict and to force the parties to negotiate.

We consider the massive exodus of the population from afflicted areas, with people abandoning their houses and running for their lives, as one of the most tragic consequences of the conflict. The problem of refugees, including its historical origins, must be addressed by the entire international community, which must explore all suitable mechanisms and structures. Accordingly, Czechoslovakia extends, as far as it able, humanitarian assistance and accepts refugees.

(Mr. Kukan, Czechoslovakia)

Czechoslovakia is deeply concerned at the deliberate violations of human rights during the conflict in the former Yugoslavia, and is alarmed at the reports of a large number of civilians detained in camps against their will. Thus, it welcomed the convening of the unprecedented extraordinary session of the Commission on Human Rights, which gave a quick response to the call for prompt and effective action from the international community. The Commission, followed by the Economic and Social Council, sent a clear message that the human rights of all persons in the former Yugoslavia, regardless of the ethnic, national or religious minority or group to which they belong, must be fully respected.

Czechoslovakia became a sponsor of the resolution adopted by the Commission on Human Rights, and supported the appointment of the former Prime Minister of Poland, Mr. Tadeusz Mazowiecki, as the Commission's Special Rapporteur. We also underline the urgent need for the removal of all obstacles to the delivery of humanitarian assistance to Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Special activities are being carried out by Czechoslovakia in its capacity as the current Chairman of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe (CSCE). From 13 to 14 August, the CSCE's committee of senior officials met in Prague focusing on further steps required by the continuing aggression against Bosnia and Herzegovina, as well as on other critical aspects of the crisis in other parts of the former Yugoslavia.

During the deliberations, the States participating in the CSCE expressed their common view that the crisis had entered a new stage requiring even more cooperation and concerted, resolute action throughout the international community to bring about a political solution to the situation. They

(Mr. Kukan, Czechoslovakia)

reconfirmed the need to respect the sovereignty, territorial integrity and political independence of Bosnia and Herzegovina. At the same time they reaffirmed their negative attitude towards the attempts by Serbia and Montenegro, or any other interested party, to change the existing borders or ethnic composition by force or intimidation.

They further condemned the ongoing cease-fire violations, the attacks against humanitarian convoys, the bombardment of Sarajevo and other cities in Bosnia and Herzegovina, violations of human rights and international humanitarian law which have been committed by all parties to the conflict, repression against the non-Serbian population in Kosovo, Sandjac and Vojvodina, and, in particular, the policy of so-called ethnic cleansing carried out by Serbian authorities.

They welcomed the intention of the United Nations to expand its activities in the former Yugoslavia, and expressed their strong support for Security Council resolutions 770 (1992), which foresees the use of all necessary measures to guarantee humanitarian assistance, and 771 (1992) on war crimes, which holds Serbian leaders and others personally responsible for their behaviour. Accordingly, they stressed their intention to cooperate closely with the United Nations and to provide assistance in the implementation of United Nations goals wherever possible.

They reaffirmed the imperative need for an urgent negotiated political solution in the former Yugoslavia and in that respect they welcomed the conference to be hosted by the European Community and the United Nations in London on 26 August 1992 as a means of carrying forward negotiations and achieving a lasting settlement of the crisis.

(Mr. Kukan, Czechoslovakia)

In accordance with the objective of intensifying the efforts of the member countries of the CSCE, the Committee decided, inter alia, to dispatch a rapporteur mission to Bosnia and Herzegovina to investigate the humanitarian situation, with special reference to detention camps, and to send a long-duration mission to Kosovo, Sandjac and Vojvodina. It also agreed that the presence of observers in neighbouring countries would help avoid a spillover of tension to their territories and would help oversee the implementation of United Nations sanctions.

In connection with the letter of the Secretary-General dated 31 July and addressed to Mr. Jozef Moravcik, the Czechoslovak Minister for Foreign Affairs and current Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the CSCE, the Committee confirmed the readiness of the CSCE to contribute to United Nations peace-keeping, including the establishment and operation of a control mechanism for monitoring heavy weapons in Bosnia and Herzegovina. The willingness of the CSCE to coordinate individual or collective contributions from States was also reconfirmed.

Following the decision adopted by the Committee and within the framework of preparatory work for the London conference, Mr. Moravcik, accompanied by representatives of the CSCE troika, visited, from 19 to 21 August, the countries of the former Yugoslavia and discussed with their representatives the ways and means of implementing the abovementioned decisions as well as other aspects of a possible solution of the crisis.

The steps taken by Czechoslovakia within the CSCE process and bilaterally, together with our unequivocal support for the activities of the United Nations, are the expression of our willingness to make a maximal

(Mr. Kukan, Czechoslovakia)

contribution to an expeditious, peaceful settlement, and to search for a lasting solution of the crisis in the former Yugoslavia.

Mr. KABIR (Bangladesh): I should like to begin by expressing my delegation's deep appreciation to the President for so promptly arranging these important meetings at the request of Member States.

We are meeting today with a deep sense of concern and urgency. There is no sign of decline in the barbaric acts of the Serbian forces in Bosnia and Herzegovina. We are horrified by the reports of large-scale detentions and killings of civilians and of inhuman torture in concentration camps. My delegation would like to join the rest of the international community in expressing our strong condemnation of the massacre of innocent people and of the horrendous human-rights violations in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

We strongly feel that the violation of the sovereignty and territorial integrity of a Member State should receive serious attention by this world body, and that decisive steps must be taken to bring to an end any such aggression. The Serbian forces are not only violating the sovereignty of Bosnia and Herzegovina, but are also pursuing the abhorrent policy of "ethnic cleansing", which is without doubt a crime against humanity and a gross breach of international humanitarian law. Hundreds of thousands of innocent men, women and children have been displaced and forced to flee their homes, seeking refuge in neighbouring States. Towns and villages have been ravaged, and people are being denied food and water in besieged cities. The litany of crimes perpetrated in Bosnia and Herzegovina is long and is well known to all of us.

(Mr. Kabir, Bangladesh)

The situation in Bosnia and Herzegovina surely constitutes a serious threat to international peace and security. We must demonstrate our determination to protect the sovereignty, security and territorial integrity of Member States. The security of small and militarily vulnerable States surely deserves special consideration by this world body. Therefore, resolute action on our part to resolve the conflict in Bosnia and Herzegovina is imperative. Immediate attention must also be paid to ensuring that humanitarian aid reaches the affected people. In this regard, we welcome Security Council resolution 770 (1992) to ensure the unimpeded delivery of humanitarian supplies to Sarajevo and other parts of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Members of the United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR) have shown great courage and devotion in securing relief supplies to the besieged and devastated cities of Bosnia and Herzegovina. A contingent from Bangladesh along with contingents from other Member States deployed in Sarajevo and other areas are carrying out their duties in the face of grave danger. We sincerely hope that UNPROFOR will be further strengthened and that all parties will cooperate with them in the discharge of their responsibilities.

We supported the convening of an extraordinary session of the Commission on Human Rights to discuss the human-rights situation in the former Yugoslavia and the subsequent adoption by the Economic and Social Council of the decision to appoint a Special Rapporteur. We also welcome Security Council resolution 771 (1992), which strongly condemned any violation of international humanitarian law, including the practice of "ethnic cleansing" in Bosnia and Herzegovina, and demanded immediate, unimpeded and continuous access by the ICRC and other humanitarian organizations to camps, prisons and detention centres within the territory of the former Yugoslavia.

(Mr. Kabir, Bangladesh)

So far, the efforts of the international community to restore peace in Bosnia and Herzegovina have fallen short of expectations, but Bangladesh believes that a peaceful political solution to the problem is still possible. We hope that the Security Council will urgently hold a formal debate on the situation in Bosnia and Herzegovina and take concrete action to reverse the aggression. It seems to us to be wholly unwarranted that the fledgling forces of Bosnia and Herzegovina should be denied their legitimate right to self-defence under Article 51 of the United Nations Charter through a blanket arms embargo imposed on the former Yugoslavia by Security Council resolution 713 (1991). It is our sincere hope that the London Conference, to be convened on 26 August, will also contribute to finding a common ground to strive for a political solution to the crisis.

In view of the continuing deterioration in the situation in Bosnia and Herzegovina, we urge the Security Council to take effective additional measures to end immediately the bloodshed and restore the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

We believe that participation by so many Member States in the general debate on this subject today aptly demonstrates the importance this world body attaches to the problem and also manifests the resolve of the international community to put an immediate end to the violence in that country. So far, the international community has focused largely on the humanitarian aspects of the crisis. However, we are apprehensive that unless the root causes of the conflict are addressed on an urgent basis, a just and durable peace cannot be achieved in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

My delegation sincerely hopes that our deliberations will result in the adoption by consensus of the draft resolution contained in document A/46/L.76. Bangladesh is pleased to be one of its sponsors.

Mr. de ARAUJO CASTRO (Brazil): The General Assembly meets in this resumed session to discuss a crisis whose dramatic dimensions are all too clear to all of us: a crisis that involves a high level of complexity and an unspeakable degree of human suffering, a crisis the appalling images of which the world has been confronted with every day for the last few months.

It is most appropriate that the General Assembly should address the situation in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Indeed, the activation of the General Assembly is not only welcome, it is also timely and perhaps even overdue.

In Brazil, we have been following closely the developments of the situation in Bosnia and Herzegovina, and we are very much concerned. One cannot fail to be concerned and shocked by an unfolding tragedy of such magnitude, by the dire pain and sorrow afflicting the civilian population, by the countless refugees and displaced persons, by the intolerable breaches of basic human rights and fundamental freedoms, by the revival of ancient fears and dreadful practices based on inadmissible ethnic grounds.

The gravity of the situation in the territory of the former Yugoslavia is such that it has compelled the convening of a special session of the Commission on Human Rights, its first ever. Brazil supported that unprecedented initiative, taking into account the clearly exceptional circumstances of the case, the specific mandate of the Commission and the positive role it can play in discussing, investigating, preventing and remedying human-rights abuses.

An important resolution, which we co-sponsored, was then adopted by the Commission and subsequently endorsed by the Economic and Social Council. It sets a benchmark for dealing with the excruciating issue of human-rights

(Mr. de Araujo Castro, Brazil)

violations and breaches of humanitarian law in that war-torn region. The Commission condemns in the strongest terms all such violations and calls upon all parties to cease them immediately and to take all necessary steps to ensure full respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms, and humanitarian law. The fulfilment of those preconditions is an essential step in the quest for a sustainable and equitable solution to the conflict.

It goes without saying that this debate takes place without prejudice to the work of the Security Council on the matter, in accordance with the provisions of the Charter. On the contrary, it is the conviction of my delegation that the deliberations of the General Assembly can effectively assist and enlighten the work of the Council inasmuch as all Members of the United Nations are here offered the possibility of expressing their views on such a serious and urgent issue. It is also our hope that this debate will contribute to restoring peace and harmony in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

At a time when the Council is faced with an unparalleled range of issues to tackle, we should not lose sight of the fact that Article 24 of the Charter, by which the States Members of the United Nations conferred on the Security Council primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security, expressly affirms that "in carrying out its duties under this responsibility the Security Council acts on their behalf" - that is, on behalf of the Member States.

Brazil hopes that the efforts currently taking place in Europe will contribute to the achievement of a negotiated solution to the situation in the former Yugoslavia. We are encouraged by recent developments aimed at broadening the scope of and providing for a more prominent role for the United Nations in such efforts.

(Mr. de Araujo Castro, Brazil)

In dealing with the situation in Bosnia and Herzegovina, or with any other conflict, we would be unwise to forget the importance of diplomacy - the mainstay and raison d'être of this world Organization. The United Nations should never give up faith in the primacy of the principle of the peaceful settlement of disputes; if it did, it would risk losing its hard-earned prestige and legitimacy. The use of force should always remain a last resort and should be clearly perceived as no more than that: a last resort, to be applied, in strict compliance with the Charter, once - and if - everything else has failed.

The tools provided for in Chapter VI of the Charter must be used and exhausted in the quest for the settlement of any dispute. It is never too late for diplomacy. It certainly should not be too late in the case of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Mr. BASALAMAH (Yemen) (interpretation from Arabic): I am very pleased, on behalf of the Yemeni Arab Republic, to address the General Assembly at this resumed session on the humanitarian situation in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

I take this opportunity to welcome the delegation of Bosnia and Herzegovina as a full Member of the United Nations.

My delegation welcomes the convening of this resumed session of the General Assembly to discuss the flagrant violation of the sovereignty, territorial integrity and independence of a State Member of the United Nations by Serbian forces, supported by units of the Federal Yugoslav army. They have usurped land in Bosnia and Hergovina and committed frightful, tragic acts, in total disregard for the lives and property of innocent people. They have

(Mr. Basalamah, Yemen)

engaged in inhuman acts on the basis of ethnic and racist claims, from "ethnic cleansing" to genocide, starvation, brutal concentration camps and forced expulsion of the Muslim population of Bosnia and Herzegovina, to be replaced by Serbs.

In dealing with this issue, the General Assembly is discharging its responsibilities under the Charter for the preservation of international peace and security. These grave developments flagrantly threaten international peace and security. These acts are a stain on the conscience of humanity. The international community is therefore duty-bound to take prompt and decisive action to deter the aggression and put an end to the suffering of the people of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

The Yemeni Republic, an Islamic country, is following closely and with sadness and concern the tragic events experienced by our Islamic brothers. They are being displaced, murdered and tortured in the most heinous ways, in full view of international public opinion. The Yemeni people feel anguish about the tragedy befalling the Muslim people in Bosnia and Herzegovina. The Yemeni people regard these acts as crimes against humanity. These heinous acts cannot be condoned, because they flagrantly violate all international norms, laws and values.

The Yemeni Republic maintains that the measures taken by the Security Council are not commensurate with the responsibilities that the international community must discharge. Therefore, it demands that our Organization fulfil its responsibilities resolutely and more seriously.

Our examination of this issue should not be based only on political considerations. Protection must be given to the Muslims and other helpless people suffering from persecution and acts of violence.

(Mr. Basalamah, Yemen)

While we welcomed Security Council resolution 770 (1992), which authorized the use of force to facilitate the provision of humanitarian assistance to the people of Bosnia and Herzegovina, we reaffirm that there must be strict observance of the Charter in the implementation of such a resolution.

If the international community does not put an end to this tragedy by finding a just and immediate political solution to the question, there will be negative effects on other regions, and other conflicts and confrontations based on religious or ethnic considerations could arise in other parts of the world, thereby making political solutions very difficult.

In conclusion, we hope that this resumed session of the General Assembly will have a broad humanitarian effect through the adoption of decisive international measures to put an end to the aggression and the injustice being experienced by the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina and its Muslim people, who are still the victims of destruction and genocide.

My delegation hopes that the international solidarity with and sympathy for the people of Bosnia and Hertzegovina will be translated into concrete humanitarian support for the civilians, victims of the acts of violence there, as well as into assistance enabling the victims of forced expulsion to be repatriated.

The credibility of this international Organization depends on what it actually does to stop the aggression against innocent people.

My delegation is pleased to be among the sponsors of the draft resolution before the General Assembly on the item under discussion.

Mr. JACOVIDES (Cyprus): My delegation was in the forefront of those supporting the consideration of the present item by the General Assembly, at the initiative of the States members of the Organization of the Islamic

(Mr. Jacovides, Cyprus)

Conference. Similarly, Cyprus supported the convening of the special session of the Commission on Human Rights in Geneva for the same purpose.

We view the situation in Bosnia and Herzegovina objectively and on its merits, and we are firmly convinced that the issues involved are basic, pose a challenge to the international community as a whole, and constitute a test-case of the effectiveness and credibility of the United Nations.

(Mr. Jacovides, Cyprus)

In gathering here today, we are all united in our deep concern and anxiety over the tragic events that have for the last several months brought havoc and disaster to the people of Bosnia and Herzegovina. We have all witnessed the worst aspects of human nature come into play in a manner that defies logic and violates all norms of human and humane behaviour, while moral values are trampled under the objectives of militaristic adventurism and excessive nationalism. We have stood witness to an unparalleled cycle of wanton, indiscriminate violence that has left in its path thousands of dead and wounded, while hundreds of thousands more have been forced into a life of destitution as displaced persons and refugees in their own country and in other countries.

While seeing the caravans of human suffering fleeing the areas of violence, destruction and death, and while admiring the sacrifice of parents attempting to save their young ones from the scourge of war, hoping for a better tomorrow, one cannot avoid asking the following: In the name of what political expediency could man inflict upon man such cruelty? How could any pretext ever justify or excuse it? No matter what the guise, be it the creation of secure borders or the unification and security of ethnically homogeneous areas, the abhorrent visage of "ethnic cleansing" cannot be hidden or beautified and it certainly cannot be condoned or accepted.

The unfortunate and indeed tragic fact is that the odious and abhorrent policy of "ethnic cleansing" is not a new phenomenon, nor did it originate in Bosnia. We in Cyprus have had bitter experience in this regard. We have witnessed equally grave violations of international humanitarian law, as attested to by the European Commission on Human Rights, not only during the 1974 invasion but also in 1975 with the enclaved 20,000 Greek Cypriots in the Karpas, of whom now fewer than 500 remain.

(Mr. Jacovides, Cyprus)

To quote from a major editorial from the respected Financial Times newspaper, on 16 July 1992, under the heading "They Must Be Stopped":

"A State recognized by most other States and admitted to numerous international bodies is being dismembered. Frontiers are being redrawn by war. Large numbers of people are being forcibly driven from their homes, with widespread killing. Such actions would be intolerable at any time or place, but in many times and places have been tolerated. A particularly clear precedent was set in Cyprus in 1974. There, too, a neighbouring State, Turkey, intervened to protect a minority and used military force to secure an area for that minority's exclusive use, expelling from it all members of the majority community. There, too, the international community failed to take any effective action or reverse the process. But stopping the fighting is not enough if it turns out to mean, as in Cyprus, consolidating a cease-fire only after the aggressor has secured his objectives and then being content to urge the virtue of negotiations and concessions equally on both sides."

I shall refrain from going any further at this point, as the issues involved are fully documented in the records of past debates in the United Nations, and I do not want to deflect attention from the item we are now considering.

My Government's policy has been and continues to be to cooperate fully and with good will with the Secretary-General in sincerely seeking a just and lasting solution to the problem of Cyprus. President Vassiliou has amply demonstrated this policy in the past and very recently, and the same sincere effort will continue when the talks resume later this year. But it is essential for Turkey and all concerned to recognize that if these talks are to bear fruit, the present inequitable division of territory cannot continue and

(Mr. Jacovides, Cyprus)

the right of the dispalced persons to return to their homes and property cannot be negated.

This is a valid proposition in Bosnia and Herzegovina and it is an equally valid proposition in Cyprus. In the case of Bosnia, even Mr. Karavdjic is reported to have declared over the weekend that "all the refugees must be allowed to return home" and that "all property handed over under duress will have to be returned". Whether one accepts these declarations at face value or not, can there be any reasonable person who can disagree with these principles, and is it too much to hope that the same principles are also applicable to Cyprus?

It is to be hoped that Turkey, which has taken a leading role in protecting those who suffer in Bosnia, will at long last play a constructive role also in the search for a just and lasting solution to the tragic problem my own country has been confronted with and suffered from for too long, a solution within the letter and spirit of the numerous applicable United Nations resolutions which so far have remained unimplemented. There should be no double standards.

In the current tragic situation prevailing in Bosnia, the decision of the Economic and Social Council to appoint a United Nations Special Rapporteur to investigate allegations of human-rights abuses is indeed commendable. We also feel that it is equally important that we ensure the effective delivery of humanitarian assistance to the people of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

In conclusion, let me once again stress in the strongest possible terms our full support for the beleaguered people of Bosnia and Herzegovina and join our voice and efforts to those of the rest of humanity to put an end to this tragedy that has brought untold suffering to hundreds of thousands of people.

(Mr. Jacovides, Cyprus)

In this respect, we are all duty-bound to do everything possible for the success of the forthcoming London conference, which could, if the necessary good will prevails, pave the way for a negotiated political solution to the problem that will, at the end of the day, be to the benefit of all concerned.

Let us today prove to the world that we are fully aware of our responsibilities and what the Organization stands for. Let this mark the beginning of an era in which aggression will not be tolerated and the rule of law, justice and, above all, peace will be brought to prevail in the world. This is indeed a test case for the United Nations and international legal order.

Mr. AL-SAMEEN (Oman) (interpretation from Arabic): Allow me first, on behalf of the delegation of Oman, to express my gratitude to the President for having convened the Assembly for the purpose of considering the question inscribed on the agenda. It goes without saying that his vast experience will contribute to making a success of our deliberations. The spirit of perseverance, which is his hallmark, will play a major role in seeing to the success of our work.

The General Assembly has before it an issue of extreme gravity which profoundly concerns and troubles the international community and arouses its sense of humanitarian decency: the situation in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

As we are all aware, the Security Council has been seized of this issue for a number of months now. In point of fact, the Serbia-Montenegro forces of aggression, claiming to be the legitimate inheritors of what was once the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, have not heeded Security Council resolutions calling upon them to put an end to the conflict and to abide by international covenants on human rights.

(Mr. Al-Sameen, Oman)

I should like to draw particular attention to Security Council resolutions 770 (1992) and 771 (1992).

It goes without saying that the entire world is following with profound concern the massacres being perpetrated against the people of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina by the Serbian forces of aggression, which have not shrunk from resorting to all manner of massive destruction with a view to killing or dispersing the civilian population. Not even innocent children, the elderly, or women have been spared. One might describe what is happening as an operation of ethnic extermination, which is proscribed by international law and norms.

In all of its relevant resolutions, the Security Council has emphasized the need to respect human rights, to put an end to hostilities, and to find a peaceful solution to the conflict. In fact, the Council, in resolution 770 (1992) of 13 August, expressed its profound concern over violations of international humanitarian law within the territory of the former Yugoslavia, notably Bosnia and Herzegovina. The Council also expressed its alarm at reports of acts of expulsion, forcible mass deportation of the civilian population, detention, and ill-treatment inflicted upon those detained in the concentration camps. It also expressed its alarm at premeditated attacks on non-combatants, hospitals, and the like, and expressed its further alarm at obstacles raised against providing the civilian population with food supplies. At the same time, the Security Council called upon all the parties concerned and all military forces to refrain from any violation of international humanitarian law.

In spite of all these Security Council resolutions, in spite of further appeals issued by the Council and regional organizations and in spite of the efforts of the European Community, Serbian forces are pursuing operations

(Mr. Al-Sameen, Oman)

aimed at extermination and have shown no positive indication that they intend to abide by Security Council resolutions or to heed the appeals of other international bodies.

In view of the situation, my delegation supports these Security Council resolutions. At the same time, it supports the initiatives taken by the Organization of the Islamic Conference, which has submitted a draft resolution, of which my delegation is a co-sponsor. That draft resolution stresses the need to find a radical solution to this conflict and to put an end to the extermination of the people of Bosnia and Herzegovina, while ensuring respect for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of that Republic, which only recently joined this international Organization. Mindful of the international obligations by which Serbia and Montenegro must abide, in keeping with the provisions of the Charter of the United Nations, the draft resolution further demands that the aggressor not be allowed to reap the fruits of its aggression by the annexation of territory by force.

In conclusion, my delegation expresses the hope that this international Organization will fulfil its duty towards the people of Bosnia and Herzegovina, and that it will take those measures necessary to finding an overall peaceful settlement and solution to the conflict with a view as well towards eliminating its underlying causes. At the same time, my delegation endorses the appeal in the draft resolution calling for an immediate end to hostilities and the withdrawal of armed forces, including the so-called Yugoslav People's Army and elements of the Croatian Army, from the territory of Bosnia and Herzegovina. That territory must be subject to the authority of the Government of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina. We expect that this

(Mr. Al-Sameen, Oman)

international Organization will do all in its power to put an end to this brutal massacre of the people of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

As I have said, my delegation is a co-sponsor of the draft resolution (A/46/L.76) now before the Assembly, and we should like to see it considered as a clear message to the forces of aggression, calling upon them to accede to the appeals issued by our Organization. We hope that the draft resolution will be adopted by consensus, mindful as we are of the principles it embodies - principles that are in keeping with those enshrined in the United Nations Charter and with the norms of international law and human rights.

Mr. ABULHASSAN (Kuwait) (interpretation from Arabic): The delegation of Kuwait is pleased to extend its thanks to the President of the General Assembly, which he fully deserves, for his strenuous efforts and success in guiding the deliberations of the General Assembly. His quick response to the important question under consideration proves the interest he takes in supporting the role of the United Nations in the settlement of international and regional issues. His country, the sisterly Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, has played a pioneering role and made humane contributions in alleviating the suffering of the people of Bosnia and Herzegovina, whose problems we are now meeting to discuss.

The General Assembly resumes its current session to discuss the issue of an ongoing act of aggression against an independent State with full membership of the United Nations. It is an act of aggression perpetrated by a strong neighbour relying on racist concepts and fruitless doctrines.

(Mr. Abulhassan, Kuwait)

Kuwait strongly condemns the act of aggression, supported by Serbia, against the people of Bosnia and Herzegovina. We are anguished by the daily carnage in that country. The mass media bring us sickening images of grave violations of human rights and of international law in the form of continued military operations, slaughter, destruction of property, mass forced expulsions, "ethnic cleansing", rape, arbitrary detention and inhuman treatment in detention camps and prisons. This is all perpetrated by a force determined to obliterate the identity of a people known to be a melting-pot of religions and ethnic groups. If the Serbian forces were allowed to continue with their plan the security of the whole Balkan region would be endangered. The grave dangers to peace and security in that sensitive area could undermine international peace and security.

Whilst it is seized of the matter, the General Assembly must discuss the question thoroughly. It must not be satisfied with a call for a cease-fire and for an end to the destruction that is going on. It should prevent the annihilation of a people known for their vitality and their strength in the service of the security of their country and region. That is why the General Assembly must adopt a resolution that will contribute to the concentrated international effort represented in part by the London conference, which is to open next Wednesday to discuss the situation in what was formerly known as the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia.

Kuwait, which has suffered the pain of aggression and occupation and has known the resulting scourges, calls on the General Assembly to demand that the Serbs and their militias cease immediately all acts of aggression against the people of Bosnia and Herzegovina and respect that State's sovereignty,

(Mr. Abulhassan, Kuwait)

territorial integrity and unity, preserving the multi-ethnic and multi-religious groups. They must forthwith cease intervening in the internal affairs of Bosnia and Herzegovina. Kuwait also believes that the international community must take all necessary measures under the Charter to end the Serbian military acts of aggression, whether direct or indirect.

Kuwait, which has recognized Bosnia and Herzegovina as a sovereign, independent State, a fully fledged Member of the United Nations, supports its legitimate right to self-defence under the Charter.

Moved by the human suffering inflicted on the people of Bosnia and Herzegovina, Kuwait has provided humanitarian and financial assistance to the oppressed people. The Kuwaiti Air Force has already transported thousands of tons of food, medical supplies and other basic necessities to alleviate partially the suffering of the people and to express Kuwait's support for their just cause. His Royal Highness the Crown Prince of Kuwait has taken personal initiatives in that regard.

During the past three days the Foreign Minister of Bosnia and Herzegovina has visited Kuwait and held fruitful discussions with the relevant authorities. He received overwhelming popular support for his just cause and financial and moral support for the struggle of his people. Kuwait will continue to provide humanitarian assistance and to carry out political activities to support that people in maintaining its identity, independence and territorial integrity.

(Mr. Abulhassan, Kuwait)

We call on the international community not to allow an act of aggression to continue, annihilating a people and a nation and we call on the United Nations to play its role to protect international peace and security.

We support the draft resolution and stress the need to implement it.

The PRESIDENT: Before adjourning this meeting, I should like to inform members that owing to the lateness of the hour the remaining speakers scheduled for this afternoon will be heard tomorrow morning. At that meeting the Assembly will also take action on draft resolution A/46/L.76.

The meeting rose at 6.35 p.m.